

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Numismatic and Antiquarian
Society

OF PHILADELPHIA

FOR THE YEARS 1902-1903



PHILADELPHIA
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1904

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FRANKLIN PRINTING COMPANY
PHILADELPHIA

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
<i>Officers and Committees for the Years 1902-04, ...</i>	4-6
<i>Resident Members, ...</i>	7
<i>Honorary Members, ...</i>	8
<i>Corresponding Members, ...</i>	9
<i>Donors to the Library, ...</i>	12
<i>Donors to the Cabinet, ...</i>	13
<i>Minutes, 1902: January, ...</i>	15
<i>February, ...</i>	16
<i>March, ...</i>	18
<i>April, ...</i>	20
<i>May, ...</i>	21
<i>October, ...</i>	22
<i>November, ...</i>	23
<i>December, ...</i>	26
<i>Minutes, 1903: January, ...</i>	28
<i>February, ...</i>	31
<i>March, ...</i>	33
<i>April, ...</i>	39
<i>May, ...</i>	41
<i>October, ...</i>	41
<i>November, ...</i>	43
<i>December, ...</i>	53
<i>Fitch and His Predecessors in Steam Navigation; by Charles E. Dana, ...</i>	57
<i>The Ceramic Literature of the Pennsylvania Germans; by Edwin Atlee Barber, ...</i>	83
<i>The English Coronation, its Service and its History; by Charles E. Dana, ...</i>	99
<i>Discussion of the Proceedings of 1899-1901; by E. Gilbertson, ...</i>	135
<i>The Age of Old Watches as Shown by their Construction; by Richard Wistar Davids, ...</i>	139
<i>The Tournament and the Joust; by Cornelius Stevenson, ...</i>	145
<i>Prince Eugene of Savoy's Sword; by Cornelius Stevenson, ...</i>	177
<i>A Few Impressions of Segesta and Selinus; by C. M. Burns, ...</i>	185
<i>Teigdrücke—Prints in Paste; by John F. Lewis, ...</i>	189
<i>Schrotblätter; or Prints in the Manière Criblée; by John F. Lewis, ...</i>	195

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PROCEEDINGS.

1902.

JANUARY 2D.

Mr. Charles J. Cohen exhibited two modern rams' horns, used by the Hebrews in their synagogues. The horns are flattened, and their curve is much opened out. The Hebrew name of the instrument is Shofar; plural, Shofaroth. Such horns are represented on the Arch of Titus at Rome, after the capture of Jerusalem, representing the spoils of the Temple. They were used not only in religious ceremonies, but in war, like the modern military musical instruments. In the synagogues, the horn is blown (with difficulty) by one of the leaders of the congregation on special occasions; and was formerly used to indicate the Jubilee Year, the year of rest of the land. It is now used twice: at the new year, in the autumn; and on the tenth day thereafter, which is the day of Atonement.

The President, Mr. John T. Morris, spoke of an Egyptian wedding custom he observed in February, 1895, while traveling up the Nile in a dahabeyeh. The boat had come to land for the night opposite a village about a mile inland. The Sheikh sent a watchman, according to custom, at the expense of the travelers, a sort of necessary toll that must be submitted to. The dragoman hearing music from the village, recognized it as the music peculiar to wedding ceremonies. The party decided to go and look on, and were picturesquely lighted on their way across the fields by a lantern on a pole carried by two of the boatmen. Only a part of the ceremonies was seen, the so-called bridegroom's entertainment. It was a weird spectacle, lighted by one dim lamp, somewhat like a miner's lamp. The entertainment consisted of dancing by a girl to the music of a drum and one stringed instrument. About twelve men stood in a row, and kept time with their hands and a swaying of the body, as the posing of the dancer

and the music excited and pleased them. Other villagers stood around, forming a circle about the dancer. Inside the adjoining houses were the women, who made a peculiar hollow sound with their expanded cheeks and vibrating tongue. The twelve men applauded by prostrating themselves and clapping their hands over their head. The other spectators applauded by simply clapping. The dance was very graceful, and, throughout, of completely unobjectionable character. One pose of the dancer was precisely that of the well-known antique statuette, called the Dancer, in the Naples museum; suggesting that the customs had been handed down from at least as far back as ancient Roman times. After the dancing was over, contributions were collected. The next day, the bride's entertainment, probably of like character, was to take place.

Mr. Cohen remarked that Jacob's marriage festivities were very similar, as described in the Pentateuch.

FEBRUARY 6TH, 1902.

The death of Philip P. Sharples, a Corresponding Member, was announced, January 14th, 1902, in his ninety-second year.

Mr. Charles E. Dana read a paper on "John Fitch and Early Steam Navigation" (see page 57).

Mr. Cohen recalled the bursting of the boiler of the "Stockton"; also the difficulty Ericsson at first had in obtaining from the government even a hearing in regard to his invention of the "Monitor."

The President, Mr. John T. Morris, recalled the invention of a certain important coal operator: to exhaust the air in front of a vessel by means of a fan, similar to the fan used for ventilating mines, causing the vessel to be sucked into the vacuum, and to be propelled also by the pressure of the air current against the inert air behind. Mr. Morris had, in 1890, seen stern-wheel boats worked by man-power, near Canton, China.

Mr. Morris exhibited a bronze copy of the statuette called the Dancer, of the Naples museum. He also exhibited a colorless transparent glass dish, in form flaring like an inverted cone, but of elliptical horizontal section, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches wide and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. Around the upper rim, the glass is thickened into a moulding that would have prevented extrication from a firm mould; and the oval form shows that the dish could not have been blown. A slight iridescence of the surface seems

to prove its great age. It was bought by him at Luxor in 1896, and is supposed to be of Roman times. The question of the method of its production has aroused great interest among some of our most advanced glass manufacturers (see page 41).

Mr. Dana spoke of a certain ancient chisel of hardened copper, which, however, proved to be incapable of cutting hard stone; throwing doubt upon the old assertions of copper anciently so hardened as to be used for chiseling such difficult material. (The so-called lost art of hardening copper was discussed by Mr. Stewart Culin at our meeting of April 5th, 1900, and shown to be mythical. See *Proceedings* for 1899-1901, page 28.)

Mr. Townsend exhibited a powder-horn of unusual size, 20 inches long, and at the large end about four inches in diameter, that had been picked up on the Brandywine battlefield soon after the battle.

Professor Sommerville exhibited three brass Japanese "lost child tickets," similar to the one he exhibited at our meeting of December 6th, 1900, but inscribed respectively with pictures of a tiger, a hare, and a dragon, indicating the third, fourth, and fifth years of the twelve-year cycle, and thereby the age of the children by whom they were to be worn.

Professor Sommerville also exhibited two coins of Brazil: one of the Empire, 200 reis, 1871; and one of the Republic, 100 reis, 1875.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from Mr. E. Deshayes, of the Musée Guimet, expressing "gratitude for Mr. Stewart Culin's very interesting communication at the November meeting, in regard to the Peruvian portrait-vase" of which Mr. Deshayes had sent us a photograph; and adding: "The Peruvian potters who modeled the vase in question, and, doubtless, those indicated as in the American collections, were decidedly great, great artists; but, like those of our Middle Ages, they ignored themselves, and apparently among them in their epoch no one dreamed (in this respect, too, just as it was formerly among us) of causing his name to be handed down to posterity. It is a pity that these vases should be 'Peruvian,' and as such should not attract more attention. They should properly hold in our collections the same place as the finest Egyptian things."

The Treasurer, Mr. Harry Rogers, read his report for the year 1901, showing a balance on hand of \$1,164.11.

The President, Mr. Morris, appointed Messrs. John F. Lewis

and Charles J. Cohen as a committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

On the motion of Mr. Townsend, it was voted that not exceeding \$1,000 of the permanent fund be referred to the Finance Committee, with instructions to find legal investments therefor.

The President announced that he had, as requested at the meeting of December 5th, 1901, appointed as a committee on securing a permanent hall and advancing the general interests of the Society, Messrs. Dana, Rogers, Smyth, Cohen, Stevenson, C. D. Clark, and, *ex officio*, the President and Recording Secretary.

Mr. Charles E. Dana reported in behalf of that committee, that a meeting had been held January 17th, with seven members present; and that after a general discussion it was resolved that one or more meetings of the Society should be held, to which a number of guests should be invited who might seem inclined to join in the work of the Society.

MARCH 6TH, 1902.

Mr. Charles E. Dana exhibited plaster casts of the seals of several kings in England: Offa, King of the Mercians, A. D. 790; Edgar, 960; Edward the Confessor, 1059, both obverse and reverse; William Rufus, 1087-1100, likewise double; Richard III, 1483, double; Philip and Mary, 1554; Charles II, 1660, double; George III, 1761; George IV, 1820; William IV, 1821, double. Also the seals of several French sovereigns: Charlemagne, A. D. 774; Louis XIV, when young, 1618; Louis XVI, after the Constitution was declared, 1790; Napoleon I, 1804; Napoleon III, 1852. Mr. Dana said his collection of English royal seals was now complete; and he was about to place them on public exhibition at Memorial Hall.

The great seals are mostly about five inches in diameter, and are formed by compressing melted wax between two matrices, generally of silver, that are mounted and operated like waffle irons. The wax covers cords that pass through holes in the parchment; so that, without mutilating the parchment, the cords, or the wax, there can be no separation. The great seal of wax is protected by a thin metallic box, and is, consequently, well preserved for ages. The use of the seal-matrices is so frequent, and the consequent wear so great, that in the reign of Victoria there was need of half a dozen renewals. The seals are

difficult to obtain in England, but can readily be procured in France. The seal of the Privy Council is not to be found even in the British Museum; because it is used only as an indication of the order to affix the great seal, and is necessarily broken in unfolding the document.

Mr. Dana spoke also of the great historical value of the seals, even greater than that of coins, in giving the most authentic portraits of the sovereigns. For the seal of each sovereign was made by the most skillful artist at the time obtainable, and before completion and use must have been approved by the sovereign himself.

Mr. John F. Lewis expressed surprise that the apparently short step from seal impressions to printing was not taken for many hundred years.

Mr. Charles J. Cohen exhibited a beautifully-written Hebrew manuscript parchment scroll, handsomely mounted upon a large wooden roller a couple of feet long, a copy of the Book of Esther, probably 200 or 300 years old; such a manuscript as has been customarily used by the priests in reading to the congregations in Jewish synagogues at the time of the feast of the Purim, a couple of weeks hence. At present, however, only the Pentateuch is read from manuscripts, and the prophets are read from printed books. He explained the peculiarities of the method of writing, formerly without the vowels; but showed that this manuscript was written with the so-called masoretic vowel-marks. He described the extreme care of the preparation of such manuscripts, the writer even making his own ink, and any error in copying requiring the rejection of the whole work; since no erasure nor alteration would be allowable. The Book of Esther has the well-known peculiarity of not containing a single use of the word God; although the book is a part of the sacred canon, and records the origin of the Purim festival and the historical results of a bloody religious feud of the time of Ahasuerus, or Xerxes,—that is, King, probably in this case, Artaxerxes.

Mr. Morris exhibited a curious English watch made by Andrew Walker about 1750. The outer case, of German make, was unusual in having watch crystals back and front, mounted in metal and sharkskin. The back of the gold case, seen through the glass, showing a highly ornate example of beautiful repoussé work, three female figures, representing Faith, Hope, and Charity. The different cases made the watch thick, but the

shape was in such good proportion that it was pleasing to the eye.

He exhibited, also, a Japanese old-style watch, or diminutive clock, within a mainly rectangular dark wooden case, three inches high by two inches wide and an inch and a quarter thick. A small brass box, about three-quarters of an inch in diameter, for the inking pad of a seal, takes the place of a netsuke, and is attached by a cord, which enables the watch to be hung upon the girdle.

The arrangements for the coming special meeting to which a number of guests were to be invited, and at which Mr. Dana had agreed to deliver an illustrated lecture on the English Coronation, were, on motion, referred to Mr. Dana's committee, with power to act, to take a hall and appoint the evening of the meeting.

APRIL 3D, 1902.

Mr. Edwin A. Barber, Director of the Pennsylvania Museum at Memorial Hall, and Corresponding Member of the Society, read a paper on "The Ceramic Literature of the Pennsylvania Germans," illustrating it with specimens from his museum and with colored drawings of the pottery (see page 83).

Mr. Charles E. Dana, chairman of the committee on increase of membership, reported that his committee had decided that the special meeting should be held on April 29th, that a number of guests should be invited, and that an illustrated paper on the English Coronation be read and discussed. The committee also reported progress on the subject of permanent quarters for the society.

Mr. Culin described a recent visit he had made to the local historical collections in Boston, including the Old State House and Old South Church, and commented on their slight value and their poor and sometimes incorrect labeling. For example, an African Mandingo quiver and arrows were labeled as Massachusetts Indian arrows of the seventeenth century.

The President, Mr. John T. Morris, exhibited a rolled five-cent piece from New Orleans.

Mr. R. W. Davids exhibited two antique watches. Mr. John F. Lewis presented a bronze copy of the medal of the Battle of the Thames.

Mr. Culin spoke of the use of aluminum tokens as money (trading checks) among the Indian traders in the Southwest.

Mr. Lyman said that our Corresponding Member, Mr. Edward Gilbertson, of Ilfracombe, England, had in a private letter offered to give the Society his copy of the publications of the Egypt Exploration Fund. The offer was gratefully accepted by the Society.

APRIL 29TH, 1902.

A special meeting of the Society was held at the School of Industrial Art, northwest corner of Broad and Pine Streets. Many guests were present. Mr. Charles E. Dana read a paper on "The English Coronation, its Service and its History" (see page 99).

MAY 1ST, 1902.

Mr. Culin spoke of a visit he had recently made to the Pueblo of Zuñi, and described the tree and arrow-swallowing dance, which he witnessed; and he exhibited photographs he had taken of the dances. He exhibited a prehistoric atlatl, or throwing-stick, which he had obtained on his expedition from a cliff-dwelling in the Lukachuki Mountains; also a serrated-lightning, or serpent-dance stick, used by the Zuñi, together with a similar serrated top. He drew the conclusion from these three objects that the serpent or lightning-dance wand of the Zuñi and Hopi is a ceremonial survival of the atlatl, and that the object really swallowed in the dance is derived from the atlatl, and represents it.

Mr. Culin also exhibited an old Chinese mirror, and called attention to the designs of animals on the back, which, Dr. Hirth has pointed out, are probably derived from some western source. Mr. Culin further exhibited two other mirrors, one Japanese; and two modern Japanese bronze castings; one somewhat in the form of the old Chinese knife-currency, and the other a much enlarged model of the old Chinese "Pu" money. The latter had been pronounced by Mr. Otaki, of the University Museum, to be a gong, used in the Tea Ceremony.

Mr. Charles J. Cohen exhibited a Jewish prayer-cloth and a linen cover, or napkin, which is placed over the bread at all festivals; and he explained their use and significance.

On the motion of Mr. Charles J. Cohen, the following resolution was unanimously voted:—

"That the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia tenders to Charles E. Dana, Esquire, its sincere thanks

for the admirable address given by him on the evening of the 29th ultimo to the members and their friends, on 'The Forthcoming Coronation of King Edward VII.' The address showed careful study and a complete understanding of the subject presented; and it is the desire of the members that the address should appear in the next publication of the *Proceedings* of the Society."

Mr. Lyman announced the gift of a complete set of the publications of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and of \$50.16 in money, from our Corresponding Member, Mr. Edward Gilbertson, of Ilfracombe, England. A special vote of thanks to Mr. Gilbertson was unanimously voted.

On the motion of Mr. Charles J. Cohen, it was resolved that the \$50.16 given by Mr. Gilbertson be placed in the Building Fund of the Society.

After discussion, it was voted that the President be requested to appoint an active Finance Committee in connection with the building project.

A letter from the President, Mr. John T. Morris, was read, enclosing a petition from Mr. S. H. Chapman, urging the passage of a bill now before Congress, amending the law against publishing illustrations of coins. After discussion it was, on motion, ordered to lay the petition on the table.

OCTOBER 2D, 1902.

The following deaths were announced: Isaac Myer, Resident Member, August 2d, 1902, in his sixty-sixth year; and the following Corresponding Members: John Ward Dean, January 22d, 1902; Luke Wills Brodhead, May 14th, 1902, in his eighty-first year; Gen. Charles G. Loring, August 18th, 1902, aged seventy-four.

Special thanks were unanimously voted to Mr. Edward Gilbertson, Corresponding Member, for the gift of two valuable and handsomely illustrated books,—his only remaining copy of Vol. I of his Catalogue of his Japanese Collection, and the Abydos I volume of the publications of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

The Curator of Numismatics, Mr. F. D. Langenheim, exhibited the proof set of United States coins for 1902, acquired by the Society for its collection.

Mr. Lyman read extracts from two private letters lately received from Mr. Edward Gilbertson, sending the Abydos volume

to the Society's library, and discussing the recent issue of the Society's *Proceedings*. The extracts were referred to the Publication Committee for insertion in the next issue of the *Proceedings*, if Mr. Gilbertson does not object (see page 135).

A letter was read from Mr. Wm. Beer, Librarian, Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, dated May 8th, asking for information concerning a medal that had been brought to him for identification: "The diameter of the coin is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the thickness nearly $\frac{3}{8}$ inch. On one side, it has: ENGLAND LAND SCARCE LABOR PLENTY LABOR RECONED BY THE ACRE. Underneath this, and dividing the circle in two, is a representation of ploughed lands, below which is: PRODUCE CORN TOBAC; and still lower: AMERICA THE REVERSE. On the reverse, around the rim are the words: MEDAL ET; and the figures 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10. The upper part of the circle is occupied by a large horse's head in heavy lines; the lower part has A. D. 1674; and opposite this: SERIES CCXXVI."

Concerning the medal, our Corresponding Member, Mr. Lyman H. Low, wrote as follows: "I am familiar with the medal bearing the inscription: ENGLAND LAND SCARCE, etc., with the head of a horse. I have had several submitted to me, and each came from the Southwest. I know nothing positively about the piece; not a line was ever transmitted or imparted to me regarding its issue. Therefore, speculation and guessing have come very easy. It was certainly engraved by a very ignorant person, and just what he had in his mind is very difficult to ascertain from the medal; but it appears to me strongly that mystery was his object, and that he is succeeding well. I regard it of no consequence whatever, and do not believe it will ever occupy more than the most common place in our medallie history."

Mr. Beer later promises to communicate any positive information he may ever obtain in regard to the medal.

NOVEMBER 6TH, 1902.

The death was announced of Joseph Jackson Howard, Corresponding Member, of London, England, April 18th, 1902.

Mr. Charles J. Cohen, by appointment, made an oral communication on "Hebrew Phylacteries and Other Objects used in Jewish Worship at the Present Day." The word phylactery is

a Greek word of modern usage. The Hebrew word is *telaphim*, meaning prayer. Frontlet is the modern English term. The object consists of a small cubical leather box, containing a written prayer, with two long leather thongs attached to the box. Two phylacteries are used: one, plain, which is bound to the arm, the thongs being wrapped around the hand; and the other bearing the Hebrew letter Shin, for Shaddai, which is placed over the forehead, between the eyes. They are called respectively "the *telaphim* of the arm" and "the *telaphim* of the head."

The *telaphim* was known at the time of the Babylonian captivity, and some writers regard it as borrowed by the Jews from Babylon at that period, the Babylonians being much accustomed to using written charms. It is mentioned in the New Testament. Jesus spoke of the phylacteries as very broad. That evidently referred to the box, not to the cord. Phylacteries are worn only at morning prayer and never upon the Sabbath or holidays. They are not used in the synagogue, except by those who attend congregational worship; and then not upon those days. Boys of thirteen wear them, but not earlier.

The Caraites construed the passage in which their use is supposed to be enjoined as merely figurative, and entirely declined to use them. In the time of persecution, a single red thread was substituted for the phylactery. In writing the prayer, a single blot was allowed, provided it did not obscure the writing. It was customary to open the phylactery from time to time, to examine the prayers, and see that they were in good condition.

Mr. Cohen exhibited specimens of phylacteries. One pair, which had been worn, he adjusted upon his arm and head; and another, a new pair, he cut open to show the writing.

Mr. Cohen also exhibited a "*Mezzuzote*," a flat metal box, containing a piece of parchment inscribed with a passage from Deuteronomy (v. 1), known as "Hear, O Israel," which is placed inside of the door-posts of dwellings. The letter Shin, the initial of Shaddai, appears on the case. The writing is done with a quill pen and with ink specially prepared for the purpose.

Mr. Cohen, moreover, showed an ornamental palm branch, called *lulab*, which is used at the present time in all orthodox congregational worship at the feast of Tabernacles. At this celebration, on the 15th of the month of Kishri, corresponding with the month of September, or October, the palm branch,

(lulab), leaves of the willow and myrtle, and the citron are used. The "citron" is supposed by some authorities to be the peach.

Mr. Cohen further exhibited a fringed and embroidered cloth, said to be over 400 years old, and to have been brought from Spain. The cloth is spread over the pillow on which the child is placed for the rite of circumcision.

In the discussion following upon the communication, Mr. Culin drew attention to the similarity between the palm branch of the feast of Tabernacles and the ornamental palm branch blessed and distributed in Catholic churches on Palm Sunday, and also spoke of the parallel use of the toy watchman's rattle at the Jewish Purim festival and by Christian (Catholic) children at Easter.

Mr. Culin exhibited the bronze medal struck to be worn as a badge by the members of the Thirteenth International Congress of Americanists in New York; and made an oral report as the representative of the Society at the Congress.

Mr. Culin also exhibited two Japanese iron vases, brought to this country in 1884 by the Japanese Minister, Mr. Kuki. The vases are cylinders, about eight inches high and about three inches in diameter, ornamented with floral designs in relief in gold and various alloys, and are said to have originally formed part of the columns of the sanctuary of a Buddhist temple.

Mr. Culin likewise exhibited some small rude carvings of coarse red sandstone, one representing a frog, found under corn-husks and sand by Mr. H. G. Maratta in Monument Cañon in 1902. They had been sent to Mr. Culin for identification. No opinion was expressed by him, or by the members present, as to their significance.

Mr. Culin also read a letter he had received from Mr. H. L. Stoddart, of Stuttgart, Arkansas, accompanying five photographs of two small stone effigies and a stone plate, said to have been found in a mound. Mr. Stoddart had thought the effigies were evidence that the mound builders worshiped idols. Mr. Culin said that, as far as could be determined from the pictures, the objects appeared to be genuine. The effigies were in reality pipes. Stone dishes, similar to that represented, had also been found.

Mr. R. W. Davids presented an English penny of King Edward VII.

The President, Mr. John T. Morris, appointed Messrs. Dana, Cohen, and Davids a committee to nominate officers and members of the standing committees for the coming year.

DECEMBER 4TH, 1902.

Mr. Stewart Culin, by special invitation of the President, read a paper entitled: "A Trooper's Narrative of Service in the Anthracite Coal Strike, 1902." * The paper described the experiences of the writer as a member of the Second Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry, during the late strike, especially at Shenandoah, Pa.; and contained numerous references to the social condition, religion, and customs of the foreign population in the coal regions: Poles, Russians, and Lithuanians. At the close of the reading of the paper, a vote of thanks to the author was passed.

The Committee on Membership and a Permanent Hall reported through its chairman, Mr. Charles E. Dana, that they "had examined a room at the Civic Club, 1302 Walnut Street, and had concluded that it was unsuitable. The only other rooms that appeared suitable were in the School of Industrial Art, northwest corner of Broad and Pine Streets." A meeting, attended by nine members of the committee, had voted that a sub-committee, "consisting of the chairman (Mr. Dana) and President Morris, be appointed to make the necessary arrangements with the authorities of the School of Industrial Art for the accommodation of the Society, with the understanding that a proper reading-desk, to be lighted with a shaded lamp, be procured, that a table be provided for the Secretary, and that a lamp be brought down to the members' table, that the janitor be notified in writing of the time of the meetings, and that he be paid for his services."

Mr. Dana read a letter from Mr. Leslie W. Miller, embodying the conditions under which the Society might hold its meetings at the School of Industrial Art.

President Morris advocated the removal to the School of Industrial Art, and urged that the Society then turn its attention to securing other and permanent quarters.

* Published as a separate volume in 1903 by Geo. W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia.

It was voted that the Society should for the present hold its meetings at the School of Industrial Art, and that the President be appointed a committee to look for a permanent home for the Society.

A vote of thanks to the University Club was passed, for the courtesies received during the period the Society had been meeting at their house.

It was voted that the President appoint a committee to audit the Treasurer's account for the year 1902.

The chairman of the Nominating Committee, Mr. Charles E. Dana, reported the nominations of officers and of members of the standing committees for the coming year; and by unanimous consent all were elected by a ballot cast by the Recording Secretary (see page 5).

1903.

JANUARY 8TH.

The stated meeting of the Society was held this evening, and, for the present, in future months, at the School of Industrial Art, northwest corner of Broad and Pine Streets.

In the absence of Mr. Culin, Mr. Lyman was requested to act as Recording Secretary; and for the same reason continued to do so the rest of the year.

Mr. Richard W. Davids read a paper on "Old Watches," exhibiting and explaining several specimens (see page 139).

Mr. John F. Lewis exhibited the original record-book of the First German Reformed Church of Philadelphia, a church begun in 1747, and not finished when the record began. Forty thousand German emigrants came to Pennsylvania between 1700 and 1725, chiefly from the Palatinate, of various religious denominations, but especially Lutheran and German Reformed. The record was kept in Latin, German, English, and French, much mixed; partly in a German shorthand, and partly written by a man with palsy. The sign of the zodiac is given under the record of births, marriages, and deaths; and the name of the place in Europe from which the emigrants came is given; also their religion, as, for example, Switzerland, Lutheran, etc. Such records kept by the churches are now a great help in tracing the genealogies of American families back to Europe. The Genealogical Society has, therefore, been copying the records, as well as graveyard inscriptions. The church that kept this record stood, under a grant from Thomas Penn, in 1741, where Franklin Square now is; and in its churchyard 5,000 or 10,000 bodies were interred within the first 50 years. But about 1800, legal proceedings were begun to oust the church; because the plot had originally been intended by William Penn for an open square. At length, the city took possession, and the gravestones that had not already been removed were laid flat and buried about three feet deep under the present open square.

The records suggested some curious changes of names among

the immigrant German families. The record-book was observed to be made of paper made at the Rittenhouse mill, as shown by the water-mark. There was some discussion, by Mr. Lewis and others, of the influence and work of Germans in Pennsylvania. President Morris spoke of the grant of land by Quakers, at Myerstown, near Reading, for a Lutheran church, on a ground rent of one red rose a year, which was so held for 157 years. Mr. Cohen inquired why a representation of the zodiac has been considered particularly appropriate as a decoration of the floor of great libraries, like the Congressional Library, the Boston Public Library, and others.

Mr. John F. Lewis also exhibited a manuscript volume, a record of Kamburg near Schwäbisch-Hall (35 miles northeast of Stuttgart). It was an original contemporary chronicle, written by Georg Widmarsch, Syndic, in 1550. It is in quaint old German, easy to read when the peculiar form of the letters has been mastered. It is apparently unpublished; at any rate, there is no such book in the British Museum. There is a salt well five miles distant from Hall, with a pipe line several hundred years old to the town.

Mr. Charles J. Cohen, on behalf of Dr. Sidney Smith, of Brussels, Belgium, presented four curious documents: one, a manuscript in German on parchment, dated May 20th, 1527; one, a manuscript in German, on parchment, dated June 1st, 1596; one, a manuscript, partly on parchment, and partly on paper, in French, dated February 27th, 1694; and one, partly printed, partly manuscript, in Latin, on paper, dated December 22d, 1741. A special vote of thanks to Dr. Smith was passed.

Mr. Cohen presented seven coins of the reign of Edward VII of England: a crown, half-crown, florin, shilling, sixpence, three-pence, and one-penny.

Mr. Cohen exhibited a sheet lithographed in colors, entitled: *The Game of Matrimony*, published by Henry Cohen (his father) & Co., and printed by J. Dainty, of 103 Wood Street, Philadelphia, 1845.

Mr. Cohen urged that the Society should signify to the City Councils its desire that the city accept the gift offered by Andrew Carnegie for branch libraries; and proposed the following resolutions, which were unanimously voted:—

Resolved, That the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia has learned with great interest of the generous offer

made by Andrew Carnegie to the City of Philadelphia for branch libraries, and desires to urge upon the City Councils their acceptance of the gift with its accompanying conditions.

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Presidents of Select and Common Councils."

At the Corresponding Secretary's suggestion, it was agreed that copies of the resolutions should be forwarded by President Morris.

Mr. Cohen exhibited an eight-branch lamp, and described the Jewish festival of the Dedication of the Lights, dating from 165 B. C., and intimately connected with earlier events. Jerusalem was taken in 597 B. C., and again in 586 B. C., by Nebuchadnezzar, who carried off the king, Jeconiah, and Daniel, Ezekiel, and thousands of its most important inhabitants to Babylonia as captives. The name Jew, or Yehudim, then arose, derived from the Kingdom of Judah. Fifty years later, after Nebuchadnezzar's death, Cyrus took Babylon; and, on entering the city, was much impressed by the Jews; and he eventually permitted their return to Jerusalem. The temple, however, was not rebuilt until the time of Darius, in 516 B. C.; and in the next seventy years, the city, its fortifications, and order were gradually restored by Ezra, Nehemiah, and Malachi. Ezra changed the Hebrew written character (until then very difficult), and introduced the uncial or square character. He collected, authenticated, and wrote out the sacred Scriptures; and arranged them into a canon, leaving out the Apocrypha, a term which then originated. Later, Antiochus Epiphanes took Jerusalem, and on the 25th day of the month of Kislev, in 168 B. C., defiled the temple. Matathias, head of the Asmonean tribe, an able warrior, a man like Cromwell, came forward and successfully began the liberation of the people. His son and successor, Judas, conquered Jerusalem, and purified the temple. He and his house were called Maccabees from the first letters of four or five Hebrew words inscribed on their banners, meaning: "Who is like unto thee, O Lord!" This appears authentic, though not universally known. Another explanation is that the letters are the initials of: Matathias Kohen (or priest) ben Johanan. In the great battle of Emmaus, near Jerusalem, Antiochus was overthrown, and the temple was rededicated on the 25th of Kislev, in 165 B. C., just three years after his defilement of the temple. From the time of the rededication, the Feast of Lights

originated; and both at the synagogue and in the home the festival is observed for eight days, annually on the 25th day of Kislev, which usually happens at the close of December. The idea originated with the perpetual light ordained to be maintained before the Holy of Holies, which is commemorated at the present time by a light kept in perpetuity before the ark in the modern synagogue. The only representation of the vessels of the temple that has come down to us is upon the Arch of Titus, at Rome, and there the seven-branch candlestick appears. At present, however, the eight-branch candlestick is used; because the ceremony is continued for eight days, and one branch is lighted each day.

Mr. Cohen also exhibited a photograph of Baurath Schick's picture of the temple in Herod's time.

Mr. Langenheim, Curator of Numismatics, presented on behalf of Prof. Sommerville, Vice-President, one rin, the Japanese smallest copper coin, worth one-twentieth of a cent.

A letter from Mr. B. V. Mein was read, expressing regret that he was unable at present to give much attention to his duties on the Hall Committee, and suggesting that Mr. Francis Jordan, Jr., be made chairman, instead of himself. It was voted that the suggestion be complied with.

Mr. Lyman, of the Publication Committee, urged that authority be given to issue the *Proceedings* of 1902 without delay. After some discussion, it was agreed to defer a decision until the next meeting, with the hope of ascertaining meanwhile the probable cost and what funds could be availed of for the purpose.

The President, Mr. Morris, appointed Messrs. Charles D. Clark and Charles J. Cohen an auditing committee to audit the accounts of the Treasurer for 1902.

FEBRUARY 5TH, 1903.

Mr. Francis Jordan, Jr., read a paper on the "Characteristics of Aboriginal Village Sites of the Middle Atlantic Coast."

Mr. F. D. Langenheim exhibited a silver medal struck in honor of Marie Louise's entrance into Paris, in 1810.

Mr. G. Albert Lewis exhibited a bronze medal struck in honor of Goethe, inscribed: "Zur Erinnerung an den 28 Aug., 1849."

Professor Maxwell Sommerville exhibited a curious Japanese object of worship he had met with in his last journey to the East; namely, a small image of Jizo, with a little drawer below, containing four minute, folded, thin-paper, printed, wood-engraved prayers in extremely small Chinese characters.

President Morris inquired why, in Ceylon, they have always images of the Sleeping Buddha.

Professor Sommerville explained that while Buddha was sleeping under the Sal trees when he gave up the ghost his body immediately became gilded.

Mr. Lyman, of the Publication Committee, reported that he now had an essentially complete copy of the minutes for printing in the *Proceedings* of 1902; and had roughly estimated the probable total amount of the *Proceedings* of 1902, including all the papers read, as about 95 printed pages, which it would cost, perhaps, \$200 to print.

The Treasurer, Mr. Harry Rogers, read his report for the year 1902, showing the balance on hand at the end of the year to be \$888.25.

The advisability of undertaking at once to print the *Proceedings* of 1902, as desired by the Publication Committee, was discussed by several members. It was urged that the treasury of the Society could not at present bear so great an outlay; and that, even if the means could be found by private subscription, it might be better to wait until the end of the year 1903 before publishing, so that the issue should contain a yet larger number of communications of importance, and, therefore, be esteemed of more decided value. It was finally voted that the publication might take place at the end of 1903, if the means could be raised by private subscription.

President Morris reported as a Committee on Securing a Permanent Hall; and described two adjoining lots with buildings on Hicks Street (formerly Dugan Street) that might at an expense of about \$12,000 be purchased and altered, so as to produce a building with a hall 32 feet by 30 feet, besides other useful smaller rooms, according to drawings that he exhibited. After some discussion by several members, it was moved by Mr. Dana, and seconded by Mr. Cohen, that a committee be appointed to ascertain what funds could be raised among the members for a permanent hall. Mr. Smyth urged that a guarantee fund should first be secured to the amount of say \$1,000

a year. After further discussion by several members, it was voted that a committee be appointed to raise the funds necessary for securing a permanent home for the Society, and to raise a guarantee fund for five years, and to select the spot for that home; the committee to report to the next stated meeting of the Society, or to a special meeting. President Morris appointed the committee as follows: Messrs. Morris, Rogers, Cohen, Charles D. Clark, John F. Lewis, and Stevenson.

On motion of Mr. Cohen, it was voted that the deficiency of the permanent fund of the Society be made good as soon as possible, and that thereafter the fund be held inviolate.

MARCH 5TH, 1903.

Mr. Cornelius Stevenson read a paper on "The Tournament and the Joust" (see page 143).

President Morris, in discussion of Mr. Stevenson's paper, described a somewhat similar display of horsemanship that he had seen at Thebes, Egypt, in which the horseman at full speed checked the horse by forcibly pressing and dragging the spear or pole upon the ground.

Rev. Alan S. Hawkesworth, a visitor, by invitation exhibited and described several fine Japanese swords that he had lately brought from Japan, as follows: A Katana, marked as made by "Bizen no kuni ju Osafune no Sukesada," in the second year of the period Ei-roku (that is, 1559), this Sukesada being one of the most famous sword-makers of Japan; a Katana, marked as made by Kanemoto of Bingo, in the Tem-bun period (1532-55), once worn by a famous hero, and known to have slain over eighty men, yet without a nick, scratch, or other flaw to impair its perfect beauty; a Katana, maker and date unknown, but probably made in Bizen about 1700, with handsome mountings of gold bronze, silver bronze, and gold; a wakizashi, about 18 inches long, marked as made at Tegarayama, province of Harima, by Fujiwara Uji-Shige, the second of four famous sword-makers of that name, the one who lived in the period Mei-wa (1764-73), and died in the third year of Tem-mei (1783), the inscriptions on the two sides of the blade reading: "Mind resembles the moon on the water," and "Hope is like a reflection in a mirror," and a third inscription on the opposite side of the tang to the one with the maker's name being: "Marishisonten," the name of the Indian god of victory; a straight, two-edged

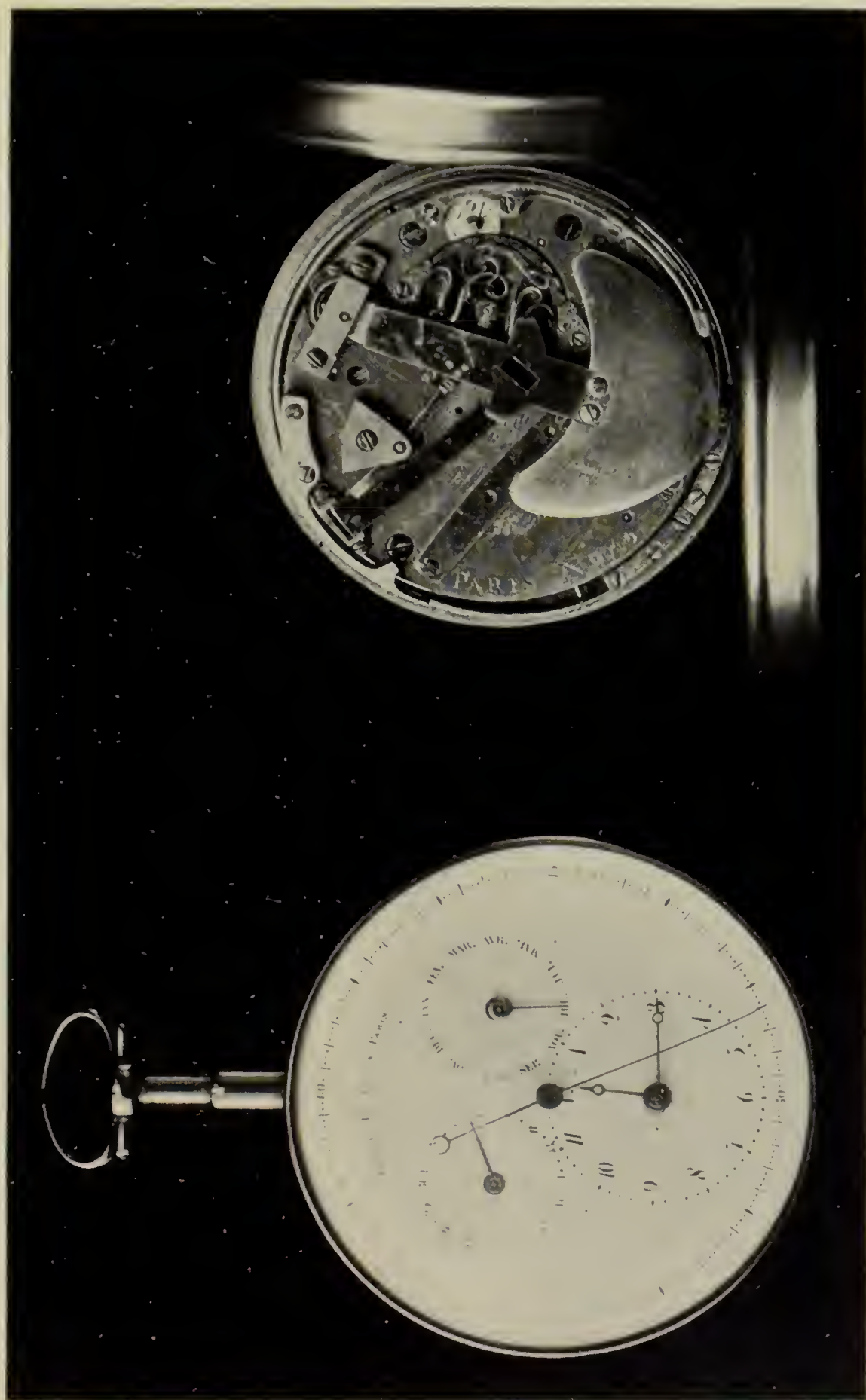
sword, in shape like a diminutive tsurugi, about ten inches long and about five-eighths of an inch wide, called the Sword of Fudô, a Buddhist god, a sword said to have been made and finely engraved and exquisitely inlaid with gold by Dai Shimbo Yukei, a celebrated sculptor and metal worker, who is said to have lived in Sagami province and to have been born in the 8th year of Ken-kiyu (1198) and to have died in the first year of Sho-chu (1324) at the age of 126 years, and is supposed to have made this sword about 1235; a lance-head in form of a short curved sword; an armor-piercer, made by Omi no Kami Nobukatsu, one of the famous sword-makers of that name, one in Sho-toku (1711-16), and the other in Ho-reki (1751-61); a pocket knife, in form a miniature katana, with a blade about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with the hardened edge (yakiba) complete; and a knife carried on the scabbard of a sword and called a throat sticker, to be used to mark the severed head of an enemy for identification after the battle; likewise a pair of split kogai, or skewers, to be used for the same purpose, and also as chopsticks for the warrior to eat with. Mr. Hawkesworth, in addition, exhibited a set of five arrowheads, about half an inch across, made of steel with hardened edges (yakiba) like the swords; and, further, a small bronze incense-burner.

Mr. Cornelius Stevenson exhibited a Japanese sword made by Ikesada; and one made by Yukemitsu.

Mr. Lyman exhibited three Japanese silk uncut-velvet landscape pictures, each about two feet square, in which the principal colors were woven in, and some subordinate details were painted upon a fuzzy surface produced by scratching up the fibres of the velvet. They were made at Tokio, and are said to be of a newly-invented kind of work.

The President, Mr. John T. Morris, exhibited the Napoleon pedometer watch described in the following extract from *Curiosities of Clocks and Watches*, by E. J. Wood, p. 359: "Napoleon I had a watch which wound itself up by means of a weighted lever, which at every step that he made rose and fell; and having a gathering click to it, wound up a ratchet attached to the barrel, if it were not then fully wound up."

The watch was bought by Chas. N. Bancker in London, between 1810 and 1815, and purchased from the estate of his son, Jas. A. Bancker, by Mr. Morris, March 25th, 1898. It was described as follows in the auctioneer's catalogue, and the authen-



The Napoleon Pedometer Watch. From Mr. John T. Morris's Collection.

ticity of the watch is further substantiated by the three following letters:—

“678.—Napoleon’s Repeating Watch: Open face; 18k. gold cases; three dials, one for time, one for measuring, and one for days of the month; with independent second hand.

“The authenticity of the watch is established by its number. This watch which is the only one of its kind ever made, winds itself by means of a weighted lever, which, at every step taken, rises and falls; and having a gathering click to it, winds up a ratchet attached to the barrel. Pedometers were afterwards made on the same principle. This watch was purchased by Mr. Chas. N. Bancker, President of the Franklin Fire Insurance Company, in London, 1810.”

(From Catalogue of Sale of Private Library, etc., of the late James A. Bancker, of New York. March 23d, 24th, and 25th, 1898. Sale conducted by Davis & Harvey, Philadelphia. Catalogue No. 808.)

“51 East 57th St., New York.

“MR. JOHN T. MORRIS.

“Dear Sir.—In reply to your favor of 13th inst., I beg to say that I was told by the late Mr. Jas. A. Bancker that the ‘Napoleon watch’ was made by the order of the physician of the Emperor Napoleon 1st and the Emperor. The object of the ‘register’ was to know precisely how much exercise was taken, as the patient was always shirking his duty in the matter of his daily outing.

“Mr. Bancker said his father purchased the watch in Paris. There are, I understand, only two such watches in existence.

“Yours truly, [Signed] “HENRY B. NICOLL,

“(Executor of Estate of Jas. A. Bancker.)

“New York, 15 Dec., 1898.”

“FRANKLIN FIRE INSURANCE CO., 421 Walnut St.,

“Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1900.

“JOHN T. MORRIS, ESQ.

“Dear Sir.—Your visit to me this morning and the sight of the ‘Napoleon watch,’ formerly owned by Charles Nicholas Bancker, and now in your possession, revived memories of the past.

"I have handled this watch frequently and often heard its history from Mr. Bancker, who valued it not only as a remarkable and rare piece of mechanism, but for its intimate association with the great Emperor of the French.

"The story, as I recall it, is that it was made especially for Napoleon, and accompanied him in many of his campaigns; and after the disaster at Waterloo it fell into the hands of someone (probably as spoils of war) who offered it for sale in London, where Mr. Bancker secured it.

"Mr. Bancker never doubted its genuineness, and believed that it was the only example of its peculiar kind in existence.

"It has been a pleasure to me to furnish this information to you.

"Yours truly,

[Signed] "J. W. McALLISTER,

"(Presdt).

"NOTE.—Mr. Bancker was formerly the President of the Franklin Fire Insurance Co., of Philadelphia, and was attending to business in London at the time of Napoleon's fall."

"FIDELITY TRUST COMPANY,

"Philadelphia, January 10th, 1901.

"JOHN T. MORRIS, ESQ.

"Dear Sir.—I take pleasure in complying with your request by stating that Mr. Jas. A. Bancker showed me the pendulum watch made by Basil Le Roy, Paris, No. 2,943, now owned by you, and that he stated to me it had belonged to his father, Charles N. Bancker, and that he had purchased it in London as having belonged to Napoleon.

"Very respectfully,

[Signed] "C. W. VAN HOUTEN."

Mr. Charles J. Cohen read a letter received by him to-day from Dr. Sidney Smith, of Brussels, Belgium, presenting the Society with a silver coin (6 grosses), and sending certain old manuscripts; the manuscripts to be shared equally between the Society and the National Library. President Morris appointed Mr. Cohen a committee to look after this division of the manuscripts, and, meanwhile, to express informally the Society's thanks to Dr. Smith.

On motion of Prof. Maxwell Sommerville, a resolution was voted, releasing both the University of Pennsylvania and Mr.

Stewart Culin from the return of a few unimportant articles that still remained undiscovered in reviewing the Society's collections on deposit at the University, in consequence of Mr. Culin's removal to Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. F. D. Langenheim, Curator of Numismatics, reported that he had received from Mr. Culin 54 bronze and one tin Brinton medals.

The President, Mr. John T. Morris, read a report of the Committee on a Permanent Home. The report suggested the purchase of a site and the erection of a building at a cost not to exceed \$12,000 or \$13,000, occasioning fixed yearly charges of about \$600, or \$500 more than the present rent of \$100. To effect the plan, the committee suggests: 1st, using the permanent funds on hand, about \$1,200; 2d, placing a first mortgage of \$4,000 on the property at 4 per cent. for five years; 3d, placing a second mortgage of \$7,800, at 4 per cent. for five years, in certificates of \$25 each, among the members of the Society. Of the \$7,800, five thousand dollars have been promised, leaving \$2,800 still to be raised among the members. The committee believes the increased expense can be met from increased memberships and from renting the building to kindred societies. No particular site is now insisted upon; but if the Society accept the plan and the necessary funds be raised, the report advises that a committee be appointed to report upon sites at the call of the President. The report was signed by Messrs. John T. Morris, Cornelius Stevenson, Harry Rogers, Charles J. Cohen, and Charles D. Clark. Mr. John F. Lewis did not sign because of absence from the meeting of the committee when the report was prepared.

On motion of Mr. Francis Jordan, Jr., the committee's report was approved and the committee was continued.

Mr. Walter Wood was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

APRIL 20, 1903.

Mr. Charles M. Burns, a visitor, by invitation read a paper on "A Few Impressions of Segesta and Selinus" (see page 185).

The President, Mr. John T. Morris, expressed the thanks of the Society for Mr. Burns's kindness in reading his interesting paper.

Mr. Cornelius Stevenson exhibited two Japanese firearms.

Mr. John T. Morris exhibited one Japanese firearm.

Mr. Charles J. Cohen communicated a gift to the Society of a number of coins from Dr. Sidney Smith, of Brussels, Belgium; who wrote, in regard to them, that he had found "in Malta several coins: two silver and five or six copper pieces of the last issue of coin of the . . . Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of Malta, Emmanuel de Rohan; besides a mixed lot of Roman and Maltese coins; . . . also an English coin, the third of a farthing, which, I think, is the coin of the smallest value in circulation. On this point, I am not sure; possibly there is a smaller one in Greece." Thanks were specially voted to Dr. Smith.

At Mr. Charles E. Dana's motion, it was voted that a bronze copy of the Brinton medal be presented by the Society to the Drexel Institute.

President Morris read a letter from Mr. Samuel Hudson Chapman, giving information of the passage by the United States Congress of the law amending the former law against counterfeiting coin, so as distinctly to permit illustrations of coins and medals in numismatic and historical books, journals, and circulars. In accordance with Mr. Chapman's suggestion, thanks were voted to the Hon. Boies Penrose, United States Senator, and to the Hon. Henry H. Bingham, Member of Congress, for their efforts in securing the passage of the bill.

President Morris read a letter from the Recording Secretary, Mr. Stewart Culin, saying: "In consequence of my removal from Philadelphia, I am compelled to tender my resignation as Recording Secretary of the Society. I do so with much regret, desiring at the same time to express my deep interest in the Society's welfare and the hope that I may still continue to enjoy some of the privileges of its membership."

On motion of Mr. Harry Rogers, it was unanimously voted that Mr. Culin's resignation of the Recording Secretaryship be accepted with regret and thanks for his faithful performance of the duties of the office for more than sixteen years past, and with hopes that he will from time to time send communications.

President Morris reported in regard to the Society's objects on deposit at the University Museum, that a release had been given for the six unimportant articles, of no value, which could not be found at the time of Mr. Culin's resignation as Curator of that Museum. The missing articles were No. 12,263, an ear ornament; No. 12,307, mica, N. Y.; No. 12,338, charcoal, Cape

May, N. J.; No. 12,369, a fragment of pottery, Germany; No. 12,403, a fragment of mortar. The University has also belonging to us: 16 folding chairs, 1 large table, 4 oak bookcases, 2 pine cabinets of little value, 2 seals, a ballot-box, a gavel.

President Morris further communicated correspondence between himself, Mr. Culin, and Mr. Samuel T. Bodine, President of the Department of Archæology of the University of Pennsylvania, which had been spread upon the minute-book, releasing the University from responsibility for those missing articles, if they should not later be found, and for the volumes of the Society's library now at the Museum, "it being understood, however, that in return for their use you will give the books every care as to safety from theft and injury, the same as you do your own property"; and suggesting in regard to the books that if the catalogue in preparation by the Department can be made in duplicate we should be much pleased to be favored with a copy.

Mr. Daniel H. Farr, of 1010 Walnut Street, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

MAY 7TH, 1903.

The death was announced of Charles Hare Hutchinson, a Resident Member of the Society, October 4th, 1902.

Among the gifts to the library, special attention was called to several publications sent by the Duke of Loubat, including the chromophotographic reproduction of the *Fejérváry Codex* and Seler's elucidation of it, and Seler's *Die alten Ansiedlungen von Chaculá*; also to Messrs. C. & E. Canessa's elaborately illustrated catalogue of *Les Fresques de Boscoreale*. Thanks were voted to the donors in both cases.

OCTOBER 1ST, 1903.

President Morris spoke of the ancient oval glass dish exhibited by him at the meeting of the Society on February 6th, 1902 (page 17), and of the mystery of the method of its construction; but suggested that the method might possibly, after all, turn out to be very simple, though its explanation has not yet occurred to the advanced glass manufacturers he had consulted.

Mr. John F. Lewis exhibited and discussed a number of extremely rare early prints: a niello, of 1475-80, a baptism, probably engraved on silver, by an unknown artist, as is generally

the case, though almost always the workmanship is Florentine; a crucifixion of about the same time; a martyrdom of St. Gregory, also Italian; a block-printed picture, hand-colored, of the apocalypse, roughly guessed to be of about 1460, perhaps made in the Netherlands, but not certainly; a niello crucifixion, of about 1480-90; an early wood-cut, xylograph, the block inked with a roller, about 1460, or perhaps 1440, possibly engraved in metal, St. Anthony with his attributes and with his two Bittsteller at his side, evidently colored by hand; a print of block-book character, partly colored by hand, partly stenciled, on paper with a water-mark (a bell with two clappers), about 1460; a dotted print, evidently printed by rubbing, surface-printed (therefore, like all such, dating from about 1470 to about 1480, suggested by niello work), one of the Heiligen, the soul of the good robber received up to heaven; a small book, the Passion of Christ, eight pictures, dotted-print. Mr. Lewis read, further, a written communication on prints in paste, Teigdrücke, exhibiting a specimen, St. Jerome, said to be of about 1470-80, but probably near 1423 (see page 189). Mr. Lewis promised to write out more of his communication in full for the *Proceedings* (see page 195).

The subject was further discussed by Messrs. Cohen, Morris, and others. In answer to inquiries, Mr. Lewis added that the engraving of those early days was also done upon copper and glass.

Mr. Richard W. Davids exhibited what was said to be a "moccasin-last," from a collection of Indian curiosities. It was in size and shape much like the foot of a large child; apparently artificially carved, but taking advantage of the peculiar natural conformation of a stone; with the upper part of gray fine-grained sandstone, and the sole and a narrow strip upward at the back of the heel, of yet finer-grained dark brown siliceous material, perhaps ferruginous quartzite.

Mr. F. D. Langenheim, Curator of Numismatics, reported that he had purchased for the Society's collection the proof United States coins of this year.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from Messrs. Chas. Gregory & Co., presenting one of eighty copies of a silver medal issued by them in commemoration of the opening of the New York Stock Exchange. A special vote of thanks was passed. Special thanks were also voted to the Duke of Loubat for his gift of the copy of two halves of the Codex Vaticanus, No. 3773.

elucidated by Dr. Edward Seler, and for the Duke's public-spirited generosity in bearing the expense of its publication. Five old documents presented to the Society by Dr. Sidney Smith, of Brussels, were exhibited. They were the Society's share of the gift that was mentioned at the Society's meeting of March 5th last, as to be divided equally between the Society and the National Library. Of the five documents, three are in French, and one in German, and one in German (or Dutch) with a French endorsement. Two were answers to applications to the Minister of War for news of soldiers lost in Russia, under Napoleon I, in 1812; one dated Paris, October 30th, 1819, and the other, Paris, January 27th, 1821. One document is the application of Gertrude de Limousin, February 25th, 1680, to enter the order of St. Claire, called of the Holy Spirit, in Luxembourg (?). One document is a parchment with seals, and has a French endorsement in a modern hand, "The eve of St. John, 1395"; a date which also appears in the document itself, in German (or, perhaps, Dutch). One document, in German, has a fair impression of the German Imperial seal, December 24th, 1770.

A letter from the British Board of Education, South Kensington, London, was read, presenting a volume on the Swiss coins in its collection, and thanking the Society for its offer of its *Proceedings*, and indicating the issues already received. A letter was read from Dr. Jas. MacAlister, President of the Drexel Institute, thankfully acknowledging receipt of the Brinton bronze medal presented by the Society to the Institute.

NOVEMBER 5TH, 1903.

Special thanks were voted to Dr. Sidney Smith for his recent gift of five antique documents; and to Professor Léon de Rosny for his gift of many publications lately received, chiefly his own works; and to the Duke of Loubat for his gift of a copy of the Cospian Mexican Codex, and for his liberality in publishing it.

President Morris exhibited a watch acquired by him this summer at Christiania, Norway. It was made in London, probably about 1700, judging by the handle, or about 1750, judging by the face. On the back, covered by a glass, there was a representation of Adam and Eve in Paradise, wrought in gold. Around, outside of them, in a circle, just under the edge of the glass, sinuously moved a small serpent, making one circuit every minute.

Mr. Cornelius Stevenson exhibited several old watches: 1st, an alarm-watch in a brass case, most likely of German make, and of about 1640; 2d, a memento-mori, or death's head, or skull watch, of about 1600, the skull, or case, of silver, the original movement having been lost and replaced by a comparatively modern one; 3d, a double-case silver alarm-watch, by Charles Cabrier, of about 1710, with both the inner and outer cases finely pierced and engraved, and with the back of the outer case chased with a Chinese scene, and of work said to have been done by Berain, a celebrated engraver of the time of Louis XIV; 4th, a double-case watch by Daniel Quare, of about 1680, with an outer case of tortoise-shell secured by silver pins, and with a dial of silver beautifully executed of peculiar design, having six Roman figures, from I to VI, surmounted by six Arabic figures, from 7 to 12, and having the single hand make four revolutions daily; 5th, a group of enameled-back watches of the eighteenth century.

Mr. Richard W. Davids thus explained the peculiarly-marked dial of the watch by Quare: The hours marked with Roman figures I to VI are partly covered by others marked with Arabic numerals, 7 to 12, equidistantly spaced; and the minutes are shown on an outer circle by figures 20, 40, 60 (with a smaller graduation between), six times repeated. The train is so designed that the single hand moves around the dial four times in the twenty-four hours; so that each position of the hand indicates any one of four hours, six hours apart, instead of but two, twelve hours apart, as is usual. The only apparent advantage over the older single-hand watch is that the time can be read twice as accurately. The use of a minute hand concentric with the hour hand had been known in clocks many years before this watch was made; but was applied to watches about the time of Quare. Mr. Davids also remarked that clocks were made with weights and a balance wheel escapement in the thirteenth century, but that the pendulum was applied much later.

President Morris exhibited two silver thirty-mark pieces, struck in 1721 and 1761 at Hildesheim, the capital of a principality in Hanover, and obtained there. The coins bear 16 or 17 coats of arms on the two faces. He also exhibited two medals of Gustavus Adolphus, Stockholm, 1634-1631.

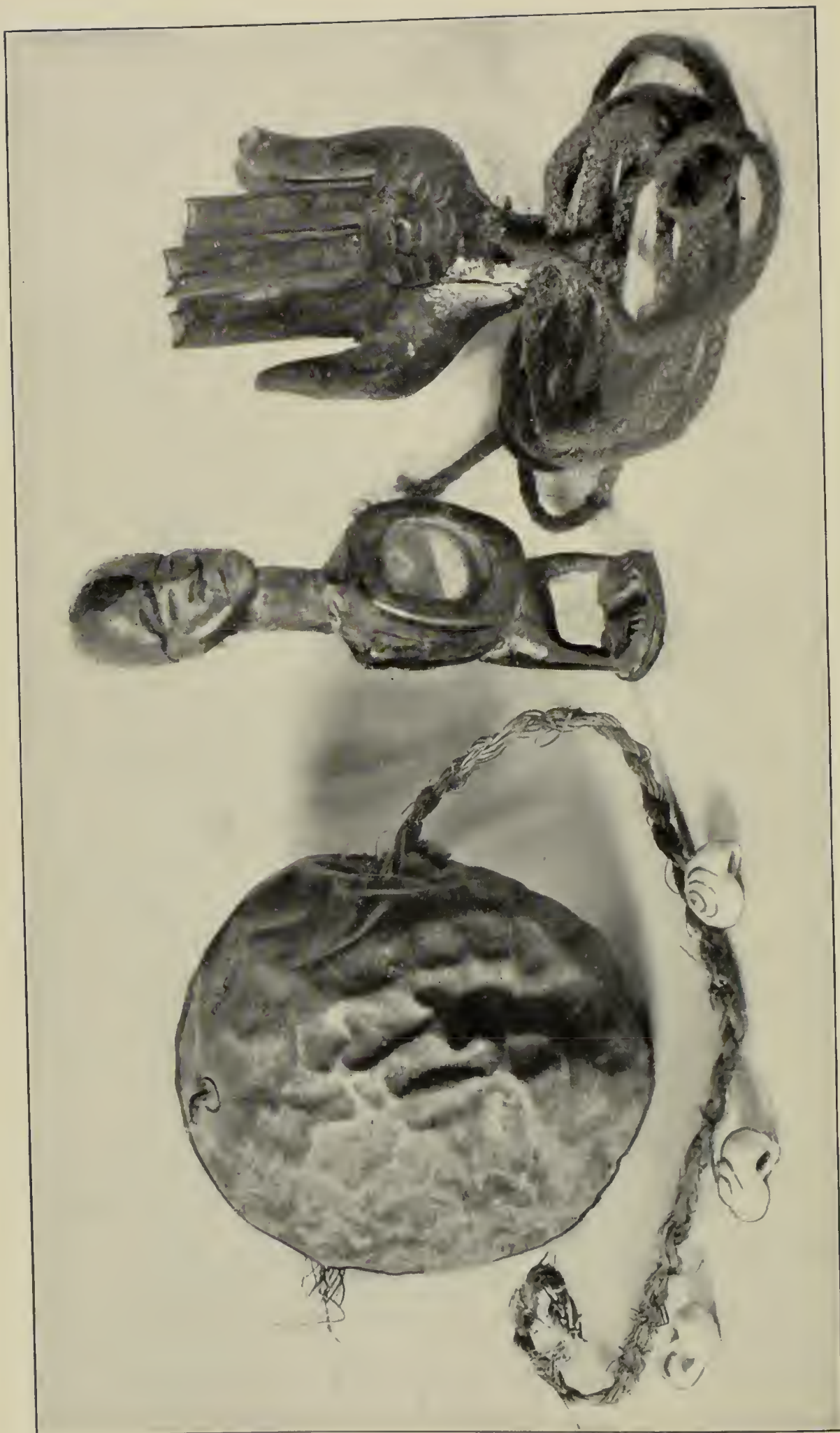
President Morris announced that, in accordance with the annual custom, he appointed Messrs. Dana, Cohen, and Smyth



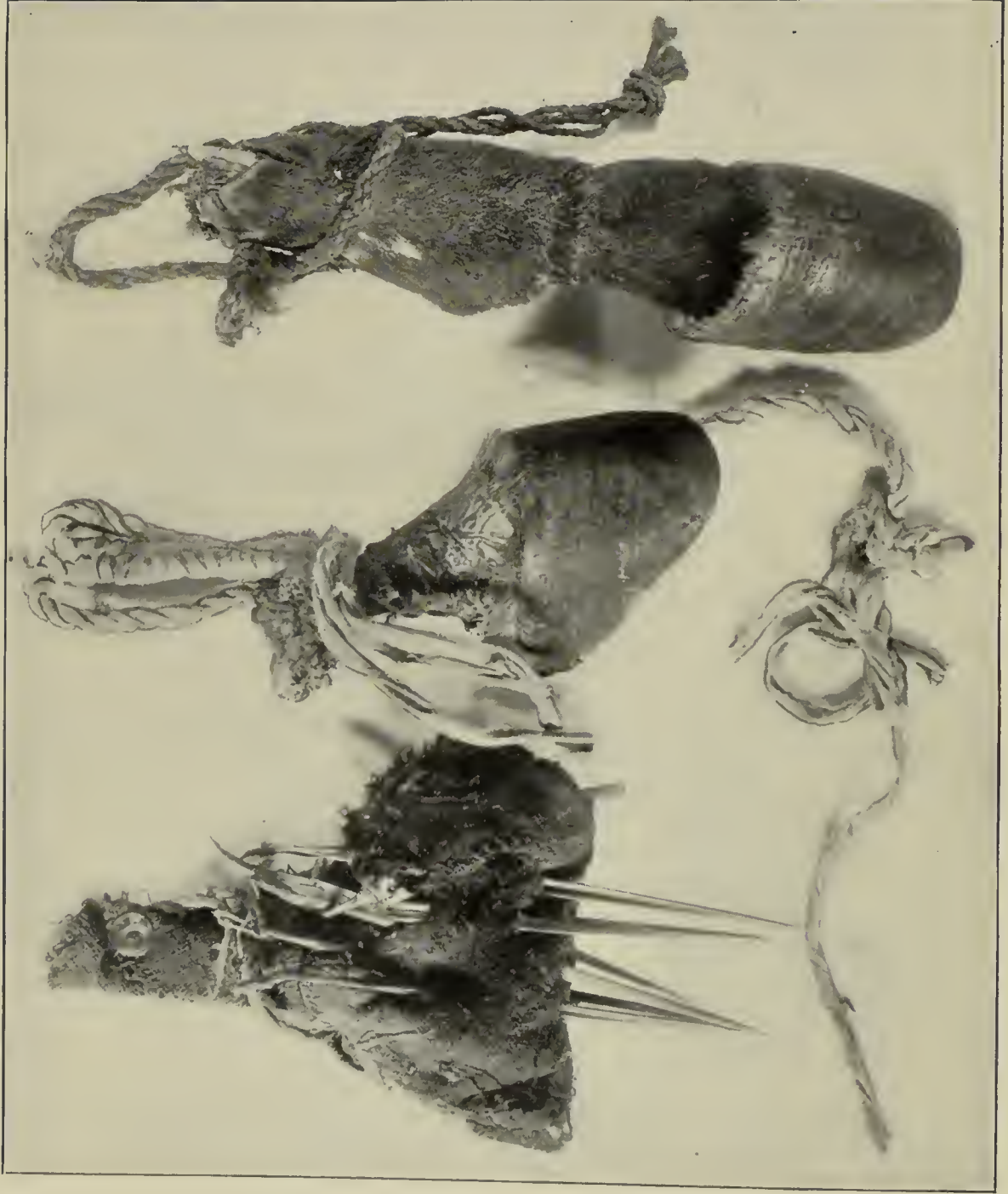
Watches of about 1600, 1640, 1680, and 1710. From Mr. Cornelius Stevenson's Collection.



Enameled-back Watches of the 18th Century. From Mr. Cornelius Stevenson's Collection.



Three Amulets from the Sahara East of Senegal. From the Collection of Prof. Maxwell Sommerville.



Three Amulets from the Sahara East of Senegal. From the Collection of Prof. Maxwell Sommerville.

a committee to nominate officers and standing committees for 1904, to be voted upon at the next meeting.

DECEMBER 3D, 1903.

President Morris explained that, as Mr. Dana had declined to serve on the Nomination Committee, and Mr. Smyth was absent in Europe, he had appointed in their places Messrs. Westcott Bailey and Cohen.

On behalf of the committee, Mr. Bailey reported nominations of officers and standing committees for the year 1904, the same as those elected for 1903, except that Mr. Richard W. Davids was substituted for Mr. Stewart Culin, removed from the city, as Recording Secretary and member of the Publication Committee, advancing Mr. Lyman to the chairmanship of that Committee. No other nominations were made; and by unanimous consent the Secretary was ordered to cast the ballot for the whole list nominated, and, upon his doing so, the President declared them duly elected. The list is given on page 6. President Morris explained that at Mr. Lyman's earnest request he had recommended the election of a Recording Secretary in place of Mr. Lyman.

Mr. Charles J. Cohen read a letter he had received from Dr. Sidney Smith, of Brussels, presenting to the Society a "Washington and Independence" token, which was, when struck, "intended for a cent," as Curator Langenheim remarked. Special thanks for the gift were voted to Dr. Smith.

Mr. Cohen also read a letter he had received from Mr. L. A. Lawrence, of London, sending a prospectus of the new British Numismatic Society.

Professor Maxwell Sommerville exhibited a number of amulets and talismans brought by him recently from Senegal. They had been worn as decorations, or even, it may be said, as extremely scanty costumes by the uncleanly women of that country; and though grimy with the accumulated dirt of years, and apparently still redolent with its odor, were for superstitious reasons highly valued by their owners, yet were parted with under the temptation of "filthy lucre." Some of them contained a small scroll of talismanic Arabic writing. He also presented two photographs of six amulets from the Sahara, east of Senegal.

Mr. Charles H. Cramp exhibited a collection of 24 small an-

tique bronze eikons, purchased at the Jewish market in St. Petersburg. They nearly covered a board about 12 inches by 9 inches, to which they were nailed, and which was itself an eikon.

President Morris and Mr. Cramp described scenes they had witnessed in Russia, particularly illustrating the devoutness of the Russians of all classes. President Morris described the reverence he had seen shown towards two eikons in Moscow.

Curator Langenheim presented to the Society a set of seven Philippine silver and copper coins, not to be obtained at our mint, where they were made, but procured by him through business correspondents at Manila, Messrs. Smith, Bell & Co., to whom, at his motion, the Society voted special thanks for the aid they had cheerfully given in the matter.

Professor Maxwell Sommerville presented to the Society a new nickel 25-centime piece of the present French Republic.

Mr. Charles J. Cohen presented to the Society two Belgian perforated nickel coins, newly issued; three silver and three copper Norwegian coins; and a crown, half-crown, and florin of Edward VII, new English coins.

President Morris announced and exhibited a gift from Vice-President R. C. H. Brock, received through Mr. Stewart Culin. It is a volume prepared by the late Mr. Hans M. Wilder, who catalogued the Society's coins a few years ago; and contains lists not only of all the coins then belonging to the Society, but of all that were in the collections that had been deposited with the Society by the American Philosophical Society and by the Library Company of Philadelphia. Special thanks were voted to Mr. Brock for the gift, and to Mr. Culin for his coöperation in its transfer to the Society; and Curator Langenheim was instructed to keep the volume at Memorial Hall.

Special thanks were voted to Mr. Edward Gilbertson, of Ilfracombe, England, for his gift of eight additional volumes (including the *Archæological Report*) of the Egypt Exploration Fund Publications, all received since the last meeting of the Society.

Mr. Cornelius Stevenson urged the publication of the *Proceedings* for 1902 and 1903 as early as possible; and suggested that it might be accomplished by means of a private subscription among the members, perhaps aided by a contribution from the Society's treasury. Mr. Lyman suggested that the subscribers

might receive one extra copy of the *Proceedings* for each dollar subscribed; and the plan was agreed to by the Society. After some further discussion by the President and several members, the question of immediate publication, though universally admitted to be of pressing importance, was kept for the moment undecided, awaiting information of the state of the Society's finances to be found in the Treasurer's annual report at the next meeting.

FITCH AND HIS PREDECESSORS IN STEAM NAVIGATION.

BY CHARLES E. DANA.

(Read to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, February 6th, 1902.)

It may be, I hope, of interest, before taking up the subject of steam navigation, and the notable part our own State has played in that great agency of civilization, to glance at the subject in its more remote antiquity.

R. Stuart, in his *Anecdotes of the Steam-engine* (London, 1829), speaks of certain manuscripts in the National Library in Paris, in which it is stated that a "Roman army, under Claudius Caudex [Consul, B. C. 264], was transported to Sicily by boats moved by wheels, oxen being the motive power."

Valturio, an Italian military writer, who lived about 1450-80, in his book, *De Re Militari* (Verona, 1472), gives two diagrams of vessels moved by wheels. One has five of these wheels on a side, and the other but one. No details are given.

Bennett Woodcroft, in his *Sketch of the Origin and Progress of Steam Navigation* (London, 1848), mentions quite a number of boats suggested, or actually built, to be moved by means of paddle-wheels; horses, oxen, wind, or man to supply the motive power, ending with Patrick Miller's triple and twin ships of 1787.

The paddle-wheel, one would think, had by that time become so familiar, and its great advantages so plainly proved, that it seems a wonder Fitch and others of about his time could have tried the clumsy apparatus they struggled with. I have picked out a few of the very prominent claimants only; their attempts are both interesting and picturesque; while the difficulties they had to overcome, especially those before the advent of Watt's engine, were almost insurmountable.

I have not touched upon the struggles to improve the primitive steam-engines of the day; "*pompes à feu*" (fire pumps) or "*water engines*" as they were called respectively in France and in Eng-

land,—as that subject seemed to touch more upon the scientific than the antiquarian.

Another interest I have found in the old inventors, at least in most of them, is the excellent material for a second paper on "Frauds." The earliest *possible*, not *probable*, mention of steam navigation is in 1543, when a mechanic of Marina, named Blasco de Garray, invented some sort of "immense chaldron of boiling water, a complicated number of wheels within, and paddles gyrating without." With this he forced a merchant ship of 260 tons burthen, called "La Trinidad," to steam, or move about the harbor of Barcelona. The experiment was successful, and de Garray was liberally rewarded by the Emperor Charles V; but, through jealousy, the scheme came to naught. This statement was published in 1826, by Thomas Gonzales, the facts being taken from the state papers of Simancas. Unluckily, these singularly interesting state papers have been carefully looked for, but never found,—at least, not yet.

Marian Delorme, a very beautiful and attractive, but far from virtuous lady, even for the court of Louis XIII, writes in a letter, dated "Paris, February 3d, 1641," how she took an Englishman of distinction, the Marquis of Worcester, to the madhouse at Bicêtre. Crossing that fearful court, an inferno most gruesome, a frightful face appeared from behind heavy bars, and a hoarse voice cried out: "I am not mad! I am not mad!" "Who is he?" the lady asks the guide. "A Norman, named Salomon de Caus. He is so mad that he thinks he can migrate ships and move carriages by—what do you think?—why, the steam of boiling water! There's no end of the miracles he claims to be able to perform. He has even written a book! He annoyed his eminence (the dread Richelieu) so, that he sent him here to be rid of him." Lord Worcester asked to see the book, and after reading several pages, he said: "This man was not mad. In my country, instead of shutting him up, he would have been rewarded." After his interview with de Caus, Lord Worcester came back, sad and thoughtful, remarking: "He is mad now, indeed; but when you cast him into that cell, you destroyed the greatest genius of the age!"

This letter is seemingly accepted as genuine. It was, however, written and composed by Henri Berthoud, of the French periodical, the *Musée des Familles*. As de Caus died in 1626, Marian Delorme was then only fourteen,

while the book in question was published at Heidelberg, or Frankfort, 1615; it was called *Les Raisons des Forces Mouyantes avec Diverses Machines*, etc. An exceedingly rare edition of this book was published in Paris, in 1624, after de Caus returned to France. We know that he had in his own country the title of "Engineer and Architect of the King"; then all in his life is blank, and likely to remain so. Arago calls him, "A man whom posterity will, perhaps, regard as the first inventor of the steam-engine."

The French claim that the Marquis of Worcester got from de Caus's book all his ideas of the steam-engine. Be that as it may, Lord Worcester impoverished himself with his inventions. In 1663, Parliament passed an Act to enable the Marquis to receive the benefit and profit of "a water-commanding engine" invented by him. Soon after, he published a curious book called *A Century of Inuencions*, or *A Century of the Names and Scantlings of Inventions*.

The Century of Inuencions says that the Right Honorable Edward Marquess of Worcester, obtained a patent for "an Inuencion to make a Boate that roweth, or letteth even against wind and streame to any part of the Compasse which way soever the streame runs, or wind blows, and yet the force of wind or streame causeth its motion, nothing being required but a steersman and whilst the boat stayeth to be loaded or unloaded, the streame or wind shall perform such worke as any water mill or wind mill is capable of." It is clear from this that the Marquis did not intend to use a steam-engine to drive his boat, for he expressly says: "The force of the wind or streame causeth its motion." (This was about 1661.)* He, Lord Worcester, constructed at Vauxhall a machine which he called a "water engine." This may have been the first steam engine ever made; but as no drawings of it exist, it is impossible to say what the engine was, except that neither he, nor his widow after him, were able to derive any benefit from it. Lord Worcester died in 1667. This incident is so picturesque, and some of it so curiously illustrative of the unreliability of much so-called "history," that I could not forbear lingering on it.

Denis Papin, born at Blois on the Loire, 1647, at first glance seems to have a pretty well-founded steamboat claim. In 1681

*Woodcroft, page 6.

his book was published by the Royal Society of London; it contained suggestions for propelling a vessel by steam, and an account of his other invention, the "Digester," a machine for extracting gelatine from bones. His invention of the piston and the safety valve are mentioned in the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipzig, 1690. He also invented a boiler with an internal firebox, the first suggestion of that used to-day. Com. Preble, in his work on *Steam Navigation*, speaks of a book published by Papin in 1695, in which he explains how far preferable his (Papin's) engine for rowing against the stream is to men. Preble also gives the well-known story of how Papin saw a boat propelled by oars fastened to a long axis and revolving like paddle wheels. Some authorities put this event in England.

If the reputed correspondence between Papin and Leibnitz, said to have been discovered in 1852 by Prof. Kuhlmann, of the University of Hanover, is genuine, Papin really did construct a steamboat about 1707. It seems, however, almost impossible that so notable a correspondence could have been carried on by such a renowned man as Leibnitz without any of his biographers or admirers discovering a trace of its existence till 1852, nearly 140 years after his death.

If the story is true, Papin, forced by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) to leave France, took refuge in Cassel, Hesse. Here he labored at his steamboat with its side wheels. It was finished and launched, but brought him only scorn and disgrace. Disgusted, he determined to quit the country and go in his own boat to London. He descended the Fulda as far as Münden, when the boatmen of that city, jealous of the new invention, destroyed the boat, and Papin barely escaped with his life, reaching London destitute. He could obtain no redress, and died in 1710, three years later, without any effort to make another boat.

Arago terms Papin the first who conceived the idea of a steam engine with a piston.

Jonathan Hulls, born in Hanging-Ashton, Campden, Gloucestershire, 1699, obtained a patent, dated December 21st, 1736, for a "Machine for carrying ships and vessels out of, or into an harbor or river, against wind or tide." The small publication in which he attempts to make his scheme known to the world, published in 1737, attracted little or no attention. His experiments at Evesham on the Avon were complete failures, and

those who were backing Hulls financially, abandoned him. His fellow-townsmen, with neighborly kindness, have handed down to us the following appreciation of his efforts:

“Jonathan Hulls.
With his patent skulls,
Invented a machine
To go 'against wind and stream;
But he, being an ass,
Couldn't bring it to pass,
And so was ashamed to be seen.”

Notes and Queries V. III, 1st S.

He seems to have used some sort of a stern-wheel machine, as we hear of six paddles in the stern of a tow-boat, fastened to a cross axis, connected by ropes to another wheel, which was turned by a Newcomen engine, the only one then known.

This engine, a slight improvement on Papin's, was most primitive. The steam pressure was so slight that it could be worked with the man-hole lid off the boiler. The walking beam was raised by a weight on the opposite side, the steam then filling the cylinder. The valve was then closed by the small boy in charge, and the cylinder cooled from the outside; this condensed the steam, created a vacuum, and the atmospheric pressure forced the piston down. The piston was kept tight by a layer of water on top of it.

The first improvement in this crude affair was due to an accident; a leak in the piston let a little stream of the packing water into the cylinder and showed the advantage of condensing by a jet of injection water. In 1713, a boy, named Humphrey Potter, valve shutter and opener to a Newcomen engine which was used to pump a mine, made the engine do his work also, automatically, by means of strings and catches.

It was not until 1770 that Watt's engine came into use, in which a condenser and an air pump obviated the necessity of chilling the cylinder each stroke, thereby effecting an immense saving of fuel. Watts patented his double acting engine in 1782. It would hardly be worth while dwelling upon Hull's failure, were it not that English writers, ignoring Fitch and Jouffroy, say (I am quoting from Dr. Morgan) that "Hull's work, in all probabilities, gave suggestions to Symington, as Symington did to Fulton."

On this the English try to establish their claim to priority

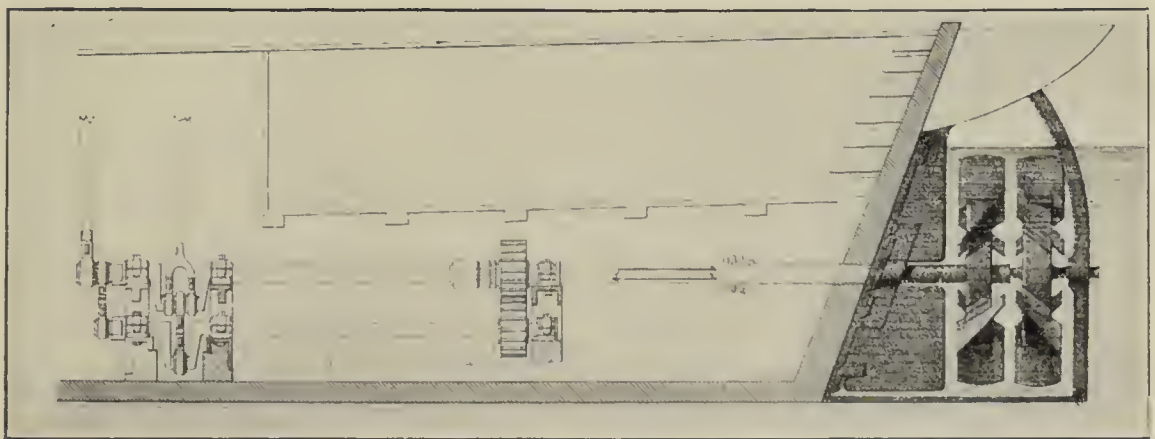
in one of the greatest inventions of modern times. It is only necessary to glance at the date of Symington's first boat, 1787; for Jouffroy's partially successful boat was steaming up and down the river Doubs (France) in June and July, 1776, while his perfectly successful paddle-wheel steam-boat was forcing its way against the tremendous current of the Rhone in July, 1783. In America, Fitch had tried his little paddle-wheel model boat, near Davisville, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in 1785. Don't forget the dates.

Just here it may be well to glance at the origin of the screw. Brande's Dictionary says that "the screw propeller is probably as old as the wind-mill, and a wind-mill of the construction now usually employed is represented in the 77th proposition of Hero's *Spiritualia*, a work written 130 B. C."

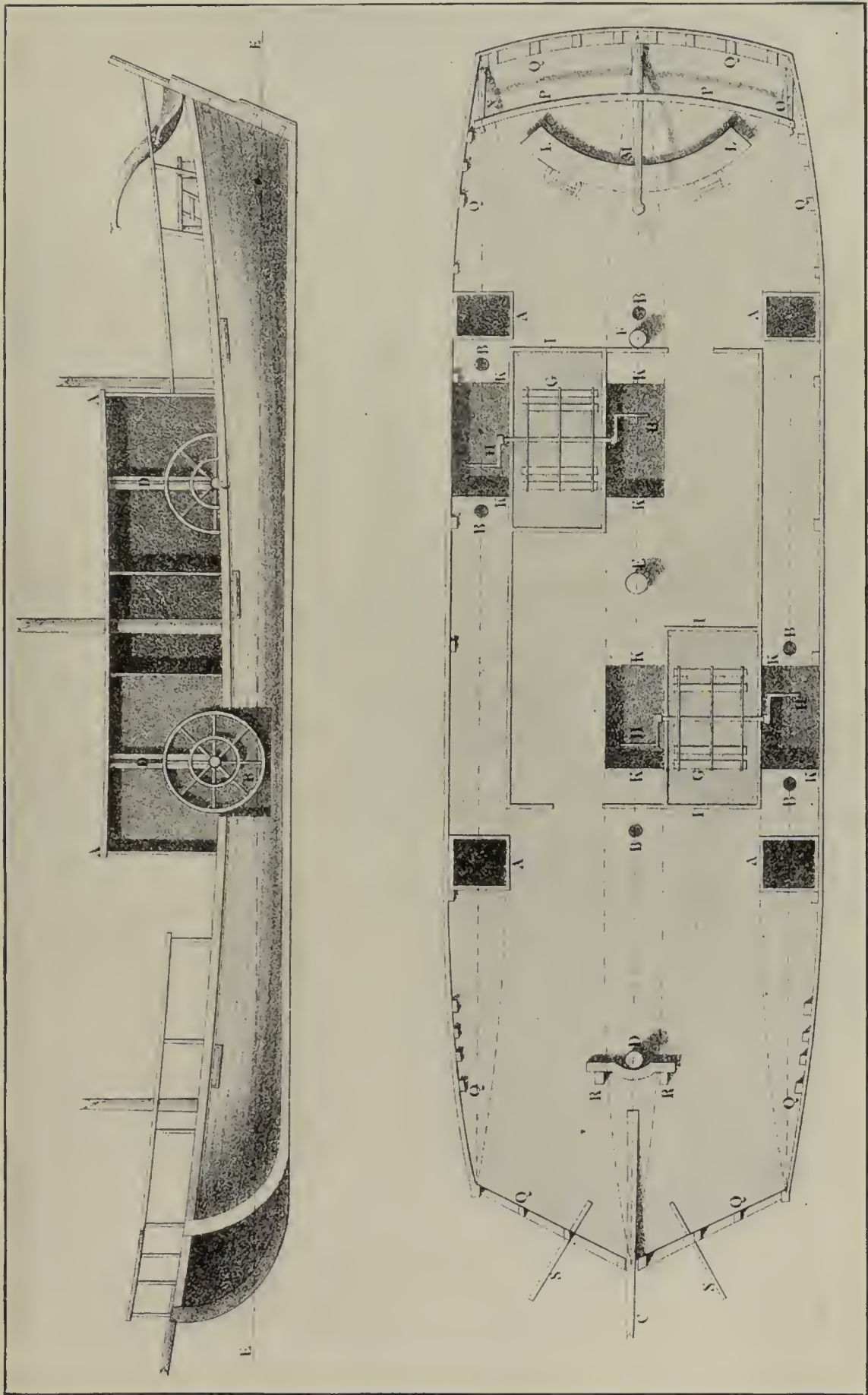
In 1776, Mr. D. Bushnell invented a sub-marine boat which he tried on the Delaware, with no success whatever, except that it gave rise to Hopkinson's ballad of "The Battle of the Kegs." To quote Bushnell's own account: "This he could row upward or downward, or continue at any particular depth, with an oar placed near the top of the vessel, formed upon the principle of the screw; the axis of the oar entering the vessel, so that by turning the oar one way he raised the vessel, and by turning it the other way he depressed it."

In the year 1785, Joseph Bramah, the inventor of the hydraulic press, of a lock, and other mechanical improvements, obtained a patent for, amongst other things, a mode of propelling vessels by the improved rotary engine therein described and claimed, by means of either a paddle-wheel or what may be called a "Screw Propeller." Bramah describes it as "a wheel with inclined Fans, or Wings, similar to the fly of a smoke-jack, or the vertical sails of a wind-mill." It may be wholly under water, and will act as oars with equal force both ways. (*Woodcroft*, p. 18.) Edward Shorter, of Newington, Surrey, took out a patent for a Screw-propeller, February 1st, 1800, which was successfully used to move men of war, by man power. William Littleton, of London, July 15th, 1794, took out a patent for a propeller of three blades, and experimented with a copper screw so formed, as described by Col. Beaufoy. (*Woodcroft*, p. 90.)

In spite of all these successful experiments, the propeller did not come into practical use until the patent of Capt. John Ericsson, C. E., July 13th, 1836. He was then established in



The Robert F. Stockton, and Ericsson's Screw Propellers in it, 1838.
(From Woodcroft's *Steam Navigation*.)



Patrick Miller's Triple Vessel, 1787. (From Woodcroft's *Steam Navigation*.)

London, in the firm of Braithwaite & Ericsson. On July 7th, 1838, the "Robert F. Stockton" was launched at Laird & Co.'s yard, Birkenhead. She was an iron ship, 70 feet long, 10 feet beam, 6 feet 9 inches draught. She had two propellers on the same axis, so arranged that she could use only one if desired. Her speed was about ten or eleven miles an hour. In April of the next year she crossed the Atlantic; was sold to the Delaware and Raritan Canal Co., and re-christened the "New Jersey."

Then we have Fitch's boat on the Collet, of which, more anon; which was propelled by a screw; date, 1797. Here we enter on another very interesting phase of steam-boat history into which I shall go a little more fully. In 1787, Patrick Miller, of Dalswinton, Scotland, whom the biographical dictionaries ignore, published a pamphlet on his invention of propelling boats by means of paddle-wheels turned by men. The drawings were by Alexander Nasmyth, the Scotch artist, father of the celebrated engineer, James Nasmyth. Omitting all that is not germane to the paddle-wheel, the invention consisted of a *triple* boat, decked over, having three masts. A deck-house extended from just forward of the mizzen-mast to a point about four-fifths of the way forward. A passage, say, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, was left on either side. The boat was about 72 feet long and 22 feet beam. At the forward port corner and the after star-board corner of this deck-house were the two paddle-wheels, about 6 feet in diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet length of paddle, and, say, 8 or 9 inches dip. The axis of the wheel was flush with the deck, and a sunken place on either side was arranged for the four men who worked them. The wheels could be raised when the wind was favorable for sailing. Note, that these are large, covered-in wheels with eight buckets or paddles.

On December 20th, 1787, Mr. Miller presented to the Royal Society, London, an account of his experiments with a *double* boat (June 2d, 1787, Firth of Forth), 60 feet long and $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, with a *single* wheel, moved by a *capstan* with 5 bars, each 5 feet long. This was so geared that one revolution of the capstan produced $3\frac{1}{2}$ revolutions of the water-wheel. With the wind on her quarter, and five men at the capstan, her speed was $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour.

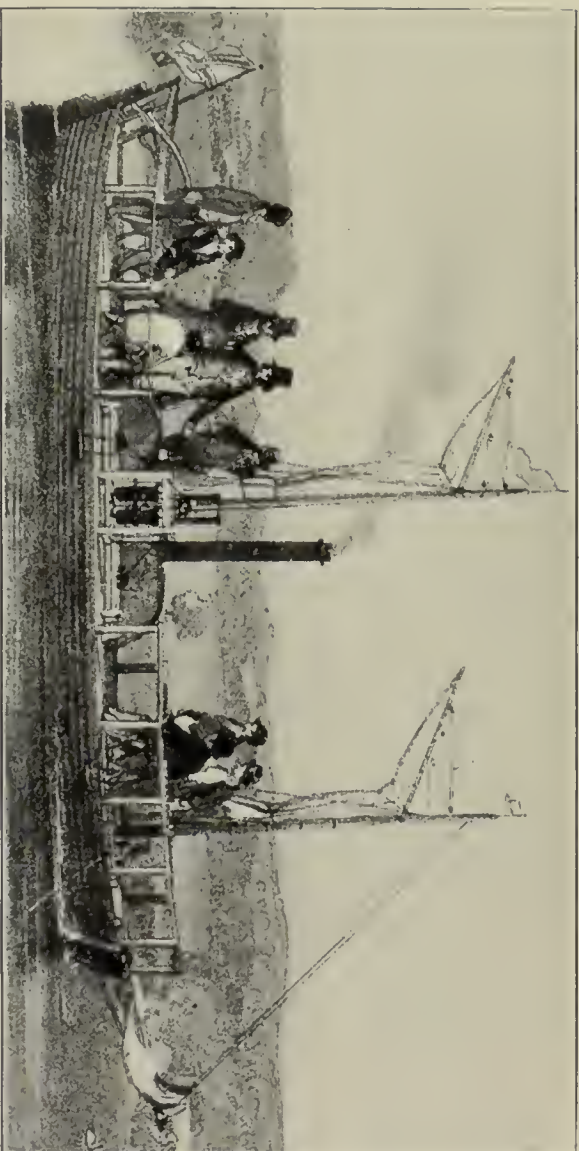
In 1785, Mr. James Taylor went to live with Miller, as tutor to his two youngest sons. He has left a description of a trial of speed between the twin boat and a row-boat. The latter

was slightly beaten, but the labor of turning the wheels by four men was most fatiguing. Taylor felt that a motive power of greater force was needed, and urged Miller to try steam. Not to forget it, let me mention that a handsomely-bound account of these experiments was printed and copies sent to royal persons, the heads of naval affairs and others, including the President of the United States.

In November of 1787, William Symington steps upon the scene. He had lately very much improved the cumbersome steam engine, with its air pump, this encumbrance being done away with in young Symington's invention. Taylor, who knew Symington, asked him whether he could not apply his engine to Miller's boat. Symington was sure that he could. So Miller employed him. The engine was completed, but with only a 4 inch cylinder; nevertheless, the boat moved about delightfully at a speed of 5 miles an hour. Remember that Fulton's "Clermont" made, in 1807, twenty years later, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. After a few days' pleasuring, the engine was removed to the house, where for a number of years it stood as a curiosity. Accounts of this experiment were published in the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, October 24th, 1788, and in the *Scots' Magazine* of November of the same year.

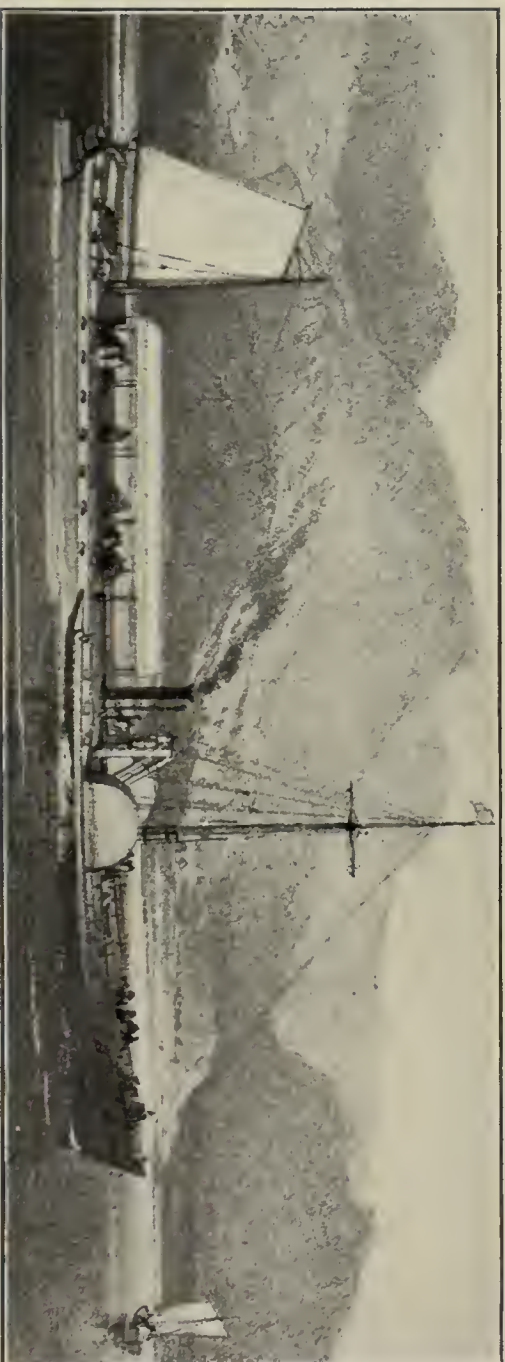
The success of this small vessel, 25 feet long and 7 feet beam, was such that Miller determined to try on a larger scale. The engine with an 18-inch cylinder, was constructed at the Carron works (whence "Carronade"), and on December 26th, 1789, after a few failures from weakness of floats, etc., the trip proved on that day and the next a decided success. The boat was 60 feet long, and the engine 12 horse power. Miller seems to have been perfectly satisfied with this, having accomplished all that he started out to do; so he had the engine laid up in the Carron works, and the boat at Bruce-Haven, on his own property. This boat is said to have attained a speed of 6 or 7 miles an hour. From this time on, Miller gave himself up to agricultural pursuits and abandoned his steamboat, until the month of July, 1801, of which more further on.

In 1786, James Rumsey, of Virginia, tried a boat which sucked in water at the bow and ejected it at the stern. This boat was tested, December 3d, at Shepardstown, Va. It moved only about half a mile, attaining a speed of some four miles an hour. In the next year, Rumsey went to England with his



11.

Double Pleasure Boat, Miller, Taylor, Symington, 1788. (From Woodcroft's *Steam Navigation*.)



The Clermont, Robert Fulton, 1807. (From Woodcroft's *Steam Navigation*.)

invention and made a successful trial of his steamboat on the Thames in 1792, but died in December of that year while preparing for another trial. His idea seems to have been thought of previously by Franklin, though that clever philosopher also suggested a paddle-wheel.

Next, let us look more carefully at the efforts of the man who seems to have the best claim of all to the great invention, but who is carefully ignored by both English and American writers.

Claude François Dorothee Jouffroy, Marquis d'Abbans, was born in the castle of Roche sur Rognon, Franche Comté (now in the Department of the Haute-Marne), on September 30th, 1751. As he is regarded by the French as the undoubted inventor of the steamboat, and as his claim is certainly a far from bad one, I am going to quote somewhat fully from a rather rare biography of him that I own.* *Lippincott's Biographical Dictionary* gives a wrong date for his birth ("about 1750") and then remarks that his first steamboat was launched in 1776. Mark the date, and remember it, when we come to speak of Fitch. Also note that we are treading on very firm ground when dealing with Jouffroy. *Lippincott* continues: "Although this attempt was far from being successful, Jouffroy was convinced that his object was attainable. In 1783, he completed another steam vessel, 140 feet long [Jouffroy himself says 150 feet 11 inches] with which he ascended the Saône [which joins the Rhone at Lyons] several miles, but, on account of his limited means, was unable to carry his invention to a higher state of perfection. The inventions of Jouffroy were highly spoken of by Robert Fulton." If, as the French claim, and as there seem some grounds for believing, Fulton simply stole Jouffroy's invention, in the way he appears to have done Symington's, Fulton's praise is a little like the politeness of the burglar who stripped a house of valuables, and then left his card with "Many happy returns" written upon it.

This is what Jouffroy's son says of his father's first boat: "It was constructed on the banks of the river Doubs, in Franche-Comté, and was about 43 feet long and 6 feet beam. From each side of the boat projected two rods ('tiges') of about 8 feet 6 inches in length, bearing at their extremity a sort of frame ('chassis') formed of two hinged shutters. These plunged into the water to a depth of about 19 inches." The paddles described

**Le Marquis de Jouffroy d'Abbans*. J. C. Alfred Prost, Paris, 1889.

an arc with a chord of 3 feet and a radius of 8 feet 6 inches. The mechanism to apply the force to the paddles was an iron chain attached to the piston of a single-action Watt engine. The chain passed through a pulley, and was fastened to the rods near the paddles. The paddles were drawn forward by a weight attached, I presume, to a chain leading from them, the shutters opening, so as to offer but little resistance, somewhat like feathering an oar under water. The forward movement happened when the steam entered the cylinder and raised the piston. As soon as the vacuum was created by condensation below the piston, the atmospheric pressure weighed down the piston, and the paddles were forced back through the water like oars, the shutters closing and making a large resisting surface. That is what they *ought* to have done. Unfortunately, when the boat got up a little speed the shutters did *not* close, so that increased speed was impossible. To-day, such a slight defect could easily be remedied. The mechanics of that time were helpless, and the system was abandoned for the paddle-wheel.

The 15th of July, 1783—again observe the date—a new and improved steamboat left its moorings at Lyons. The wheels turned, beating the water with powerful strokes. The boat sped along, amid the plaudits of a vast multitude, as far as the Ile Barbe; turned, and came back safely to her moorings—a success! and the happy Jouffroy cast into the river the pistol he had intended to end his career with, had he again failed. This boat was, say, 151 feet long and 15 feet beam; the wheels were 15 feet in diameter; the paddles, 6 feet 6 inches long, with an immersion of 3 feet; all curiously like Fulton's "Clermont" of twenty-four years later.

This undoubted success was witnessed by thousands of spectators; by eight savants, of whom five were members of the Academy of Lyons. A report was drawn up and signed by two notaries. During *sixteen months* this boat continued to make trips between Lyons and Macon, on the Saône, a distance of, say, 40 miles each way.

The rest of Jouffroy's story is a series of disappointments. The Revolution sent him forth to fight for the Bourbons. During the Empire he was an "Irreconcilable." By the time the Bourbons returned, steam navigation was, thanks to Fulton, assured; and a company called the "Bateaux Coureurs," with a capital of 2,400,000 francs (say, \$480,000), was formed in France.

The accusation made by the French is that Fulton's boat, launched on the Seine, August 19th, 1803, was a copy of a model and plans sent by Jouffroy to a manufacturer and engineer named Périer, in whose works Jouffroy hoped to construct a far better engine. These plans and the model disappeared when Jouffroy joined the army of Condé.

John Fitch, the pioneer of Steam Navigation in America, was born at Windsor, Conn., January 21st, 1743, and died in Bardstow, Ky., June, or July, 1798. The family were in very modest circumstances, and Fitch seems to have been most unhappy and without education. At seventeen, he went to sea; then tried clock-making, attempted brass-founding, the manufacture of potash, worked at making silverware; and after the breaking out of the Revolutionary War became a soldier in the New Jersey line for a time, holding the commission of lieutenant. Thinking he was not treated justly, he left the service. He traded with the troops at Valley Forge, supplying them with tobacco, beer, etc., for which he received a large bale of depreciated Continental currency, investing the same quite skillfully in land-warrants in Virginia. He was captured by the Indians, was eventually exchanged, and made his way to Bucks County, Pa. Here he engraved on copper a map of the Northwest Country, and here the first idea of using steam for a motor occurred to him.

His own account of the thing is best. He says "I was so unfortunate in the month of April, 1785, as to have an idea that a carriage might be carried by the force of steam along the roads. I pursued that idea about one week, and gave it over as impracticable; or, in other words, turned my thoughts to vessels, which appeared to me that it might be applied to advantage on the water. . . ." The English is like his first boat—crude. He worked hard at his plans, and after two weeks took them to his friend Mr. Irwin, of Neshaminy. The latter had in his library *Martin's Philosophy*, in which there was a description of Newcomen's atmospheric engine. "Although it was not to my credit," confesses Fitch, with most suspicious frankness, "I did not know that there was [such a thing as] a steam-engine on earth, when I proposed to gain a force by steam." He adds that he was very much chagrined at first! In casting about for the best means of propulsion, paddle-wheels, like those used two years before by Jouffroy, and later by Fulton, seem to have

suggested themselves. This singular ignorance of Fitch's regarding all previous experiments is accepted by his biographers without question. The model was tried on a small stream about half a mile from Davisville, and it realized every expectation. The machinery was made of brass, with the exception of the paddle-wheels, which were of wood.

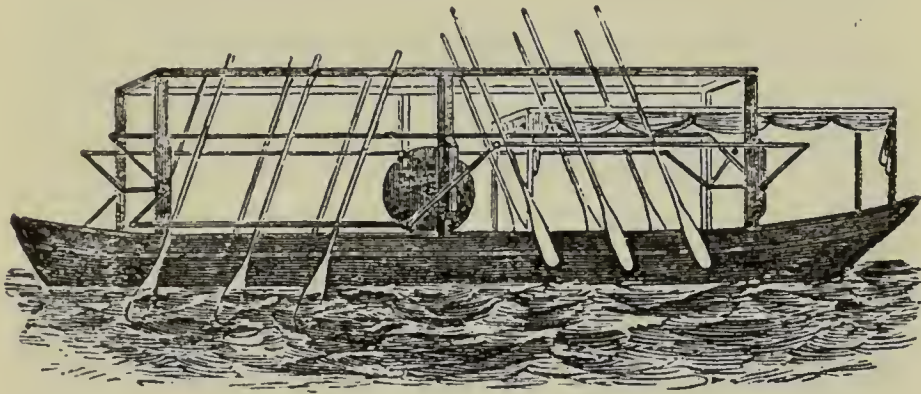
Nathaniel B. Boileau, a student at Princeton College, off on his vacation, made the wheels of the steamboat, and so stated to Daniel Longstreth. Whittlesey says: "The buckets of the wheels were found to labor too much in the water, entering as they did, at a considerable angle, and departing at the same. They lost power by striking at the surface and afterwards lifting themselves out of water. This led to the substitution of oars, or paddles." In September of the same year, 1785, Fitch presented to the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia, drawings of his boat, with an endless chain on which were paddles or floats. This chain passed over two rollers and was intended to replace the paddle-wheel. I find in his biography no account of the trial of any boat of this system.

In 1780, James Pickard patented a short lever, or crank, to be attached to the end of an axis, intended to be turned. These singularly mole-like old persons had placidly gazed at the spinning-wheel and the turning-lathe, both worked by a treadle and crank, but the idea that the steam-engine, used then almost entirely for pumping, might create a rotary motion in the same way, never seems to have struck them. The principle of the crank was applied to Fitch's boat of 1786-7, with its six oars, three on a side, forward, and the same aft. They were worked by an elaborate system of a frame and horizontal rods, moving like the paddles of a canoe. The drawings deposited with the American Philosophical Society are lost, and those which were in the United States Patent Office were burned in 1836; so, many details are wanting.

The boat, after frequent failures, was, on August 22d, 1787, induced to move along the Delaware; proving little, except that the machinery was ill-calculated for the boat, and that the force was poorly applied to the water. David Rittenhouse and others waxed very enthusiastic over it, however, and Fitch set to work to devise something better. (Symington's first boat was tried in 1788.) On April 16th, 1790, his most successful boat got up

steam, and Fitch remarks in his journal: "We reigned Lord High Admiral of the Delaware, and no boat on the river could hold its way with us, but all fell astern." About June, a mile was measured along Front, or Water Street, and the vessel was found to get up a speed of eight miles an hour. Its usual speed seems to have been somewhat less, possibly a little over six miles an hour.

Rembrandt Peale, the celebrated painter, gives an account of his impressions, which is worth quoting: "In the Spring of 1785, hearing there was something curious to be seen at the floating bridge on the Schuylkill, at Market Street, I eagerly ran to the spot; where I found a few persons collected, anxiously gazing at a shallop at anchor below the bridge, with about twenty



John Fitch's Steamboat of 1786, 1787.

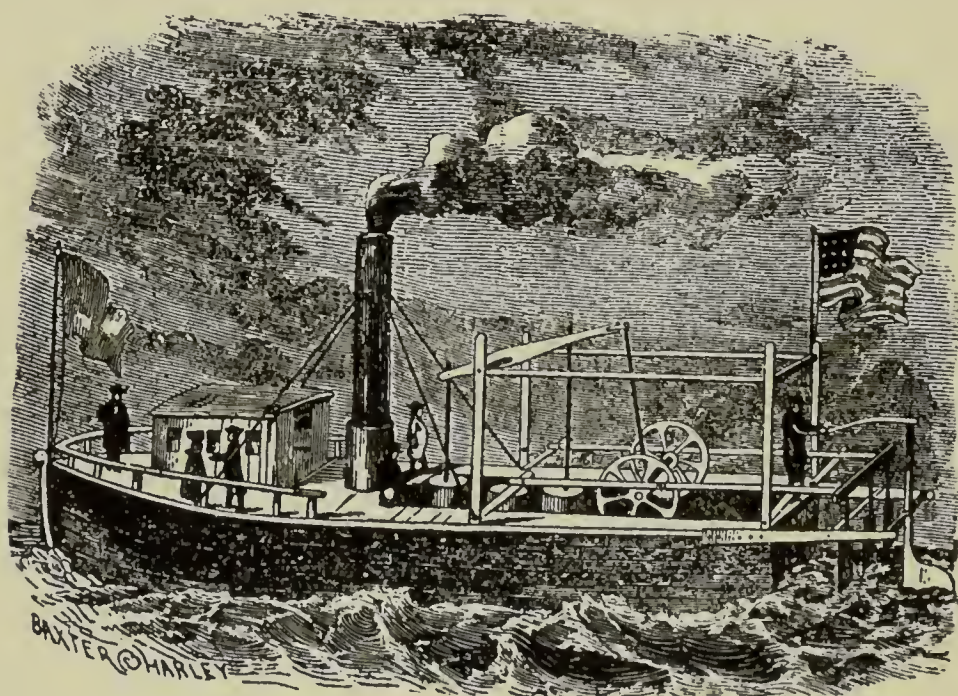
(From Westcott's *Life of John Fitch*.)

persons on board. On the deck was a small furnace and machinery, connected with a complex crank, projecting over the stern, to give motion to three or four paddles, resembling snow shovels, which hung into the water. When all was ready and the force of the steam was made to act, . . . the paddles began to work, pressing against the water backwards, as they rose; and the boat, to my great delight, moved against the tide, without wind or hand; but in a few minutes it ran aground at an angle of the river, owing to the difficulty of managing the unwieldy rudder, which projected eight or ten feet."

This vessel ran as a regular packet during July, August, and September, 1790. There are many advertisements of it in the *Federal Gazette* and the *Pennsylvania Packet*. There being no other similar boat in America, "The Steamboat" was quite sufficient as a name. The advertisements were about as follows:

"The Steamboat sets off to-morrow morning from Arch Street Ferry, at ten o'clock, with passengers for Burlington, and on Sunday at eight o'clock, for Chester and to return same days." *Pennsylvania Packet*, August 11th, 1790. Tickets, 2s. 6d. to Burlington and Bristol, 3s. 9d. to Bordentown, 5s. to Trenton.

Lewis Rue and John Shaffer gave a certificate that on Saturday, June 5th, 1790, they left Philadelphia in the steamboat about 4 A. M., and went to Trenton Landing and to Lambertville, fifteen miles above Trenton, where they stopped one hour; they arrived at Philadelphia again at 5.30 P. M. The current was against them eight or nine miles before reaching Lambertville,



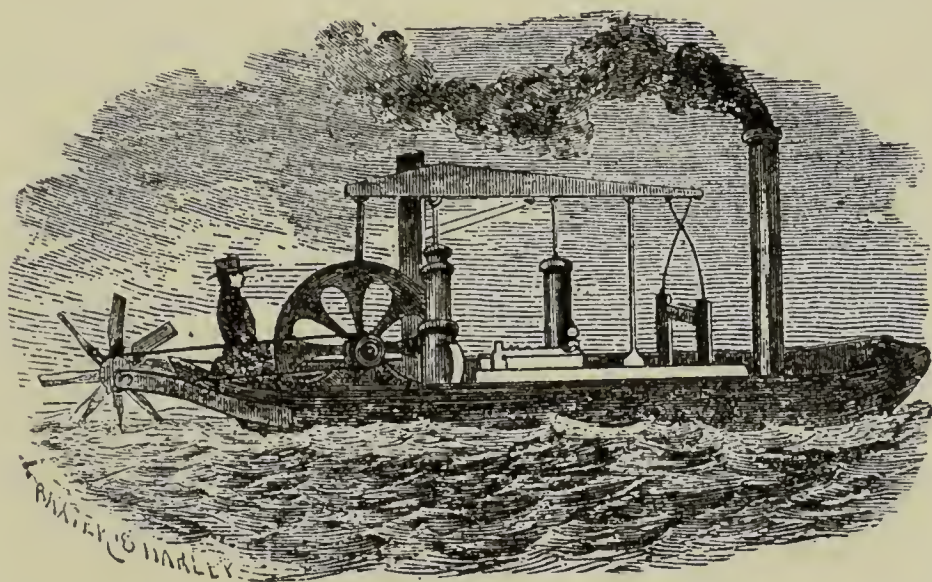
John Fitch's Steamboat—1788, 1789, 1790.
(From Westcott's *Life of John Fitch*.)

and a fresh head wind all the way on the return trip, with the tide against them for seven or eight miles before reaching Philadelphia. Distance run in $12\frac{1}{2}$ hours, 90 miles; average speed, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour.

Fulton's boat, the "Clermont," 17 years later, took 32 hours to reach Albany, a trip of 150 miles,—say, $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles an hour. Fitch's boat would have beaten Fulton's fifty-two miles in the run. Fitch's engine was made by Philadelphia blacksmiths; Fulton's, by Bolton & Watt, in England, the greatest makers known at the time, and was modeled on that of Symington's, already fully tested.

It is estimated that during the summer "The Steamboat" ran

between two and three thousand miles! In the autumn she was laid up, because the travel was not sufficient to pay her expenses. The company, as soon as "The Steamboat" proved a success, set to work to build another, the "Perseverance," intended for use on the Mississippi. Late in the autumn, when nearly finished, in a heavy gale she was blown from her moorings and grounded on Petty's Island. They got her off, in about ten days, but the company was in debt, and both boats had to be sacrificed. The patent granted Fitch, August 26th, 1791, was: "For applying the force of steam to [a] trunk, or trunks, for drawing water in at the bow of a boat, or vessel, and forcing the same



The Eruktor Amphibolis. Oliver Evans, Philadelphia, 1804.
(From Westcott's *Life of John Fitch*.)

out at the stern, in order to propel a boat or vessel through the water. For forcing a column of air through a trunk or trunks, filled with water by the force of steam. For forcing a column of air thro a trunk or trunks, out at the stern, with the bow valves closed, by the force of steam; and for applying the force of steam to cranks and paddles for propelling a boat, or vessel, through the water." *

In 1796 Fitch made his experiment with the screw propeller on "the Collet," a pond formerly existing about where the Tombs now stands in New York. He used a ship's yawl, steered with an oar. The experiment was a success, but nothing

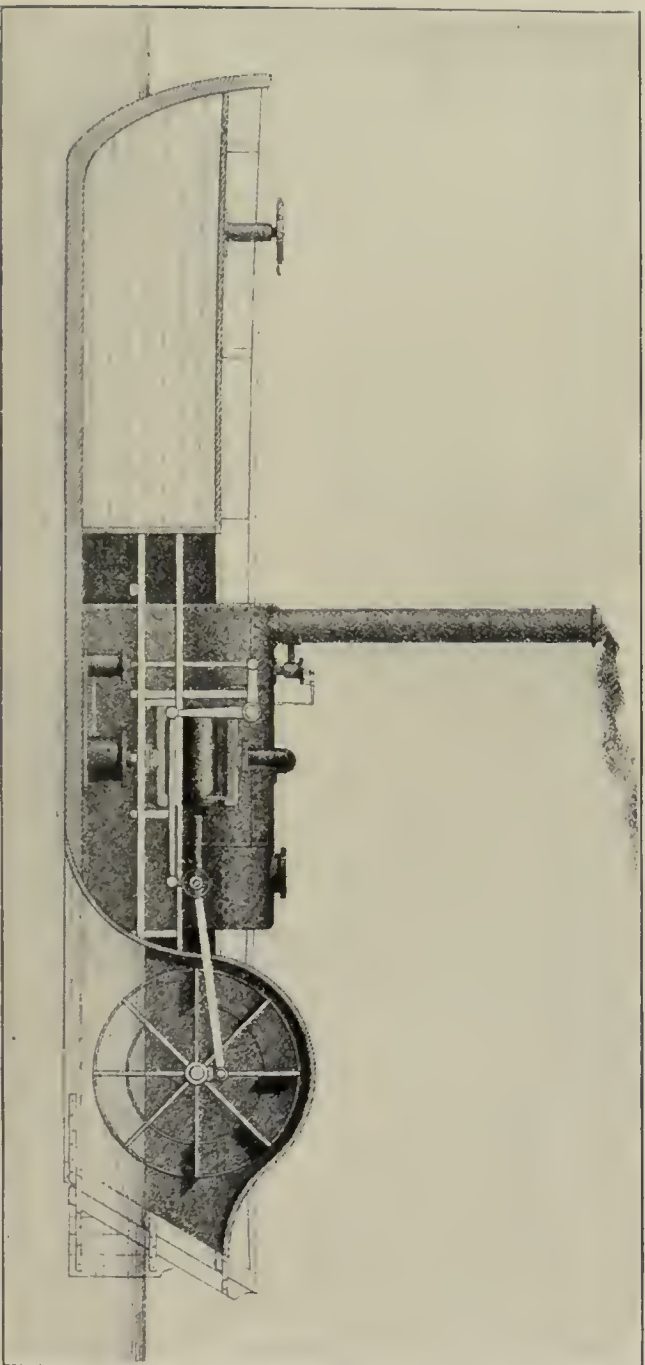
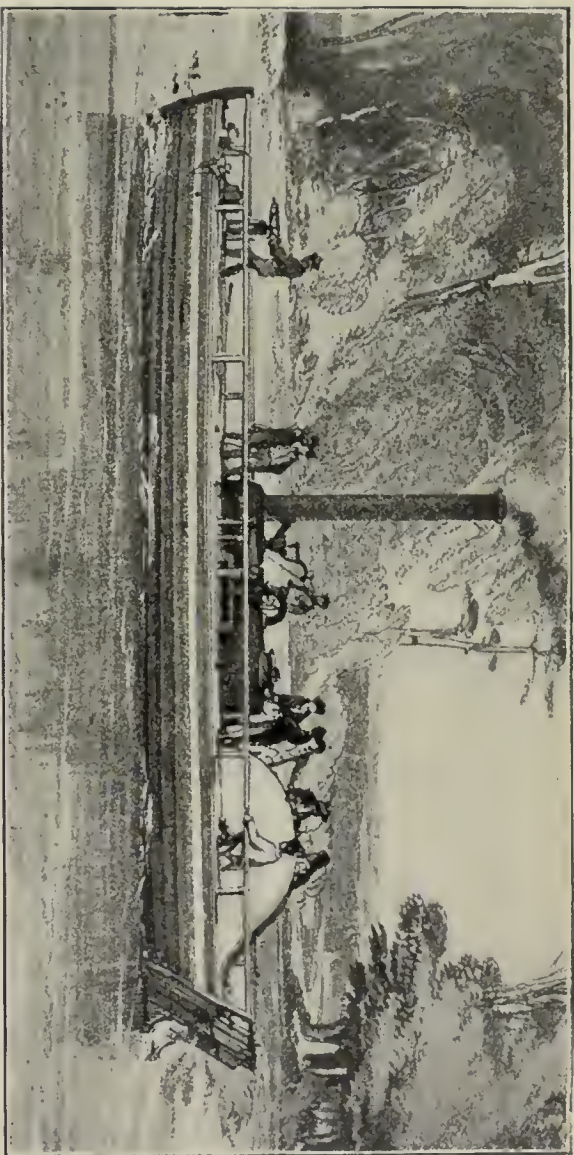
*Thompson Westcott's *Life of John Fitch, The Inventor of the Steamboat*. Philadelphia, 1857, p. 327.

seems to have resulted. Fitch was much depressed by the treatment he received and his various disappointments. He was a hard drinker, and eventually, between June 25th and July 18th, 1798, committed suicide. As it is, of course, quite possible that Fitch knew nothing of the results attained by Jouffroy, he may safely be called the American pioneer of steam navigation.

Another Philadelphia experiment, though later, is interesting. In 1804, Oliver Evans built a scow steamboat in Philadelphia for the purpose of clearing out the docks. This he called the "Eruktor Amphibolis." In order to prove that wagons could be moved on land, as vessels were moved on water, by the force of steam, Evans geared machinery to the wagon-wheels on which the "Eruktor" was placed; "Though," as he says, "it weighed as much as two hundred barrels of flour"; and thus he propelled his wagon by steam from the Centre Square to the Schuylkill at Market Street. There the wagon wheels were taken off, the scow launched, and a paddle-wheel placed in the stern. (*U. S. Service Magazine*, May, 1881.)

I cannot omit from this hasty sketch an account of the tow-boat, "Charlotte Dundas," which, were it not for Fulton's good luck, would have been the boat to introduce steam navigation practically and commercially. She was a stern-wheeler, of 22-inch cylinder, 4-foot stroke, and cost £3,000. In the year 1801, Thomas, Lord Dundas of Kerse, well acquainted with the experiments of Patrick Miller, engaged Symington to make a series of fresh experiments to enable them to substitute steam for horse power on the Clyde Canal. The experiments lasted from 1801 to 1803, and cost some £7,000. "The result was" (I am quoting Woodcroft) "the first practical steamboat, the 'Charlotte Dundas.'" This vessel might, from the simplicity of its machinery, have been at work to this day, with such repairs as are ordinarily required by all steamboats. She had a horizontal engine, with the steam acting on each side of the piston (Watt's patented invention), working with a connecting-rod and crank (Packard's patented invention), and the union of the crank to the axis of Miller's improved boxed-in paddle-wheel (Symington's patented invention). Thus had Symington the undoubted merit of having combined together for the first time those improvements which constitute the present system of steam navigation.

In the month of March, 1802, Symington received on board his vessel, at Lock No. 20, of the Clyde Canal, Lord Dundas



The Charlotte Dundas, Wm. Symington, 1803. (From Woodcroft's *Steam Navigation*.)

and a number of other gentlemen. He took in tow the "Active" and the "Euphemia," each of 70 tons, and towed them to Port Dundas, Glasgow, a distance of $19\frac{1}{2}$ miles, in 6 hours, *i. e.*, $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles per hour, against so strong a head-wind that no other vessel in the canal attempted to move to windward that day. The Duke of Bridgewater gave orders for eight similar vessels for use on the canal, and Symington prepared to see to their construction. The sudden death of his patron, the Duke of Bridgewater, followed by the determination of the committee not to allow steamboats to be used on the canal, put an end to all Symington's plans, and the "Charlotte Dundas" was then laid up near Brainsford drawbridge and not again used; so, seemingly, it is to this combination of fatality and stupidity that Fulton owes his fame. (*Woodcroft*, p. 55.)

One word more about Fulton and Symington, always from an English source, be it understood. In 1801, Fulton, hearing of the experiments Symington was making, went to Scotland, and introduced himself to Symington. Symington, in compliance with the stranger's earnest request, caused the fire of his boat to be lighted up, and the machinery put in motion. Several persons entered the boat along with Fulton, and were carried from Lock No. 16, where she then lay, to a point about four miles west; returning to the place they had started from in one hour and twenty minutes, or at the rate of six miles an hour, to the astonishment of Fulton and the others present. Fulton asked and obtained leave to take notes and sketches of the form, size, and construction of the boat and apparatus; but he never afterwards communicated with Symington. (*Bowie on Steam Navigation*, p. 14.) Several affidavits follow, from persons who were present when Fulton thus ascertained by personal investigation the means by which Symington propelled his boat. After witnessing these experiments Fulton gave orders to Messrs. Boulton & Watt for the engine for the "Clermont," an engine with a 24-inch cylinder and 4-foot stroke, almost exactly the same as that of the "Charlotte Dundas."

Then again, Fulton spent seven years in France, and could hardly have failed to become fully acquainted with all Jouffroy's successes and failures. Fitch's work was familiar to him, as well as that of many other experimenters. In spite of this, his two attempts on the Seine, in Paris, in 1803 and 1804, were failures, the former a disastrous one.

Three years later, almost to a day, August 7th, 1807, at 1 o'clock, P. M., the "Clermont" left her pier in New York. She was but 138 feet long by 18 feet beam, with two side wheels, *unboxed*, 15 feet in diameter, the buckets dipping two feet. She was followed, the next year, by the "Car of Neptune," and the "Paragon," and, lately, by the "Celtic" and the "Deutschland," the "Baltic," and possibilities far beyond even these huge monsters.

THE CERAMIC LITERATURE OF THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS.

BY EDWIN ATLEE BARBER,
Curator of the Pennsylvania Museum.

*(Read to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia,
April 3d, 1902.)*

Every distinct product of the potter's skill will be found to possess some feature of interest peculiar to itself,—some historic value, the quality of grotesqueness, quaintness, artistic merit, or marked originality in the treatment of body, glaze, or decoration. The Jasper ware of Josiah Wedgwood exemplifies the union of classic and modern art. The great English potter elevated a modest handicraft to a place beside the fine arts by evolving a new ware, superior to anything which had been produced before. The soft-paste porcelain of Sèvres, in the eighteenth century, was famed for its exquisitely pure tint and the beauty of its texture. The tin-enameled pottery of ancient Delft and the Maiolica of Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mark an earlier departure from the well-trodden paths of fictile effort. The white salt-glazed ware of the early English potters, fashioned in the discarded moulds of the contemporary silversmiths, tells a fascinating story to the modern student. And so we might review the entire field of ceramic progress in all times and countries, and find in each phase of the art some point of engrossing interest; yet in no one of these distinctive wares can we read the history of their respective periods. They do not teem with living facts from the lives of the people.

The earthenware produced by the Pennsylvania-German potters appears to stand alone in the great variety of features which distinguish it. Its makers infused into it more of the spirit of the time, and of their surroundings, than is found, perhaps, in any other similar product of civilized people. They made of their pottery a medium for transmitting much of their unwritten history to posterity, in the absence of a general and popular literature in this country during the eighteenth century. By

the union of expressive pictographs and inscribed words, they recorded permanently the customs of their people, their folk lore, and their artistic progress. They did not look beyond their own community for inspiration in their art. They sought not the products of other peoples for their guidance. They adhered closely to the traditions of an art which had flourished in the fatherland for a century or more, using the same time-honored methods and decorative motives in this, their adopted land, as had been employed by their German ancestors. As they were practically isolated from other peoples in the community which they established in Eastern Pennsylvania, no extraneous influence penetrated to modify their homely but virile art.

The subject of slip-decorated pottery is too comprehensive to be covered in an evening's discourse. It would not be possible, in the space of an hour, even to touch upon the many points of interest which are revealed by a study of one of the most interesting of all ceramic wares. I shall not describe its peculiar processes of manufacture, nor trace the successive stages in the evolution of the artistic instinct of the people, in the gradual improvement in floriculture and household decoration, indicated by the figures traced and etched on the old pie plates and dishes. I shall not enumerate the various animals which were raised by the people, nor describe the flowers they cultivated, nor the costumes which were in vogue a century or more ago, as revealed by the decorative details which embellish the ware. I shall confine myself, this evening, to a brief review of the literature of the inscribed pottery, in which we can read the homely philosophy of the people, and gain some knowledge of their mental traits and of the gradual development of the Pennsylvania German dialect from the Continental tongue, through a century and a half,—interesting facts which have not been recorded elsewhere. To interpret these pottery inscriptions requires some knowledge of the Pennsylvania "Dutch," which contains many words which are not intelligible to a native of Germany, some of which, in fact, found on the earlier pieces of German-American ware, are not recognized by the present generation of Pennsylvania Germans.

First of all, we shall notice a wide variation in the spelling of the same words by different potters. In the eighteenth, and down to the middle of the nineteenth, century, when the ceramic writing was discontinued, the potters wrote phonetically. They

spelled more or less by sound, so that to the eye alone many of the words are unrecognizable. It is only after we pronounce them as they are spelled that they carry any meaning to the mind, through the ear. In their religious literature, as printed at Germantown and Ephrata, the Pennsylvania Germans adhered more closely to the purer German of the fatherland. In their ceramic inscriptions they followed phonetically the language as it was popularly spoken throughout the counties in Southeastern Pennsylvania.

It has been through the generosity of your President that the unique collection now in the Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, has been formed. This is probably the most remarkable



A Pennsylvania-German Plate of 1814.

gathering of early slip-decorated and sgraffito wares in the world. If we take a decorated piece of this curious earthenware and examine it intelligently, we shall find that it fairly bristles with information. In the first place its coarse substance and bold treatment indicate that its maker belonged to a sturdy and vigorous race. Compare it with other examples from the same section, and it will be discovered that no two are exactly alike in decorative treatment. This variation shows originality and freedom of execution. There were no replicas. No potter copied the patterns of another, neither did he exactly reproduce his own creations. Each piece of ware that he decorated stood

alone, and in this diversity of design lies one of its greatest attractions.

Many of the mottoes or proverbs on the earlier pieces were suggested by the older products of Europe, and these have often been preserved in their original purity. One of the most popular rhymes found on the Pennsylvania ware is the following:—

“Diesa Schüssel ist von Örda gamacht,
Von sie zerbricht der Heffner lacht,”—

This dish is made of earth,
When it breaks, the potter laughs.

This same bit of philosophy frequently occurs on old German ware, particularly in Baden:—

“Diese *Platt* aus Erd gemacht,
Wenn sie verbricht der Häfner lacht.”

Another inscription found on old German pieces runs thus:

“Ich esse gerne Fische und meine
Frau vögel,”—

I willingly eat fish and my wife fowl.

The sentiment has its counterpart in the Pennsylvania-German couplet:—

“Fische, vögel und Fornellen
Essen gern die Haffner gsellen,”—

Fish, fowl and trout
The journeymen potters eat willingly.

While such inscriptions were usually placed at random on pieces of ware,—generally pie plates or large circular platters,—without reference to the decorative designs which they accompanied, or to the purposes of the utensils which they embellished, they were not always irrelevant. Some of the old shaving dishes, or barber’s basins, for instance, shaped like a deep saucer with a piece cut out of the rim to fit the neck of the operator while lathering, are most appropriately inscribed. On one of these, bearing the date 1791, is found this reflective sentiment:—

“Ech weitig nit in dar welt,
Mein bart dar ist gar din gestelp,”—

By everything in the world, I know not why
My beard has grown so thin.

A second example, made in 1733, is thus inscribed:—

“Putz und Balvir mich Hiebsch und fein
Das ich gefal der liebste mein,”—

Clean and shave me nice and fine
That I may please my beloved one.

A third piece of the same character, evidently intended for a presentation dish, carries this delicate compliment:—

“Du bist von der art
Das du hast drei Har am bart,”—

Thou art of the kind
That has but three hairs in the beard,



A Pennsylvania-German Presentation Shaving-dish.

a saying which was sometimes applied to a clever, but tricky, fellow.

HUMOR.—Some of the old craftsmen possessed a keen sense of humor, which we find cropping out occasionally in their ceramic literature. On one occasion, about ninety years ago, a prominent potter in Montgomery County was invited to the house of the Lutheran minister for dinner. At the usual hour for the mid-day meal he promptly appeared with well-whetted

appetite, but owing to some trouble in the culinary department it was two o'clock when the meal was served. During this visit the host gave his guest an order for a dozen plates, which were to be suitably decorated and inscribed with religious sentiments. In due season the set of dishes was finished and delivered. When the Dominie came to inspect them he found them carefully executed in accordance with instructions. One of them bore the pious lines:—

“Lieber Vatter in Himmel reich
Was du mir gibst das es ich gleich,
Anno, 1812,”—

Dear Father in Heaven
What Thou givest me I eat thankfully.

Instead of a dozen pieces, however, there were thirteen, and on the extra one the purchaser was much amused to read this criticism of the well-remembered, belated meal:—

“Ich bin noch nie gewest
Wo man so spat du mittag est,”—

I have never been in a place
Where people eat their dinner so late.

These two interesting pie plates were discovered some years ago in the German settlements and are now in the collection of the Pennsylvania Museum. The anecdote was related to me by a grandson of the old potter who made them.

This strain of dry humor runs through many of these inscriptions. A few quotations must suffice:—

“An diesem disch gefalt mirs nicht,
Der Koch der wascht die finer nicht,”—

I do not like it at this table,
The cook does not wash his fingers.

“Wer etwas will verschwiegen haben,
Der derf es seiner frau nicht sagen,”—

He who would have something secret
Should not tell it to his wife.

“Lieber will ich ledig leben
Als der Frau die Hosen geben,”—

Rather would I single live
Than the wife the breeches give.

The old potters dearly loved a joke on the women.

SUPERSTITIONS.—The superstitions of the time are frequently recorded on the pottery. Among these, I have found the following:—

“Wenn der pohahn kreit, bringt Regen,”—

When the peacock cries, it brings rain.

It was thought that the tulip, which was employed so generally as a decorative motive by the Pennsylvania German potters, possessed a protective influence. The idea is thus expressed on a dish ornamented with a tulip and bird:—

“Es wirt gewisz kein wey,
Diesen vogel kriegen,
Weil die Dullebahnen
Sich über in biegen,”—

Surely no hawk will seize this bird,
Because the tulips bend over it.

PHILOSOPHY.—The following maxims which occur on the pottery are of interest:—

“In olden times an old man’s word
was taken as true.”

“Never give a certainty for an uncertainty.”

“Good luck and misfortune are our
breakfast every morning.”

Occasionally we come across bits of philosophical reasoning, such as these:

“I like fine things, even when they are
not mine and cannot become mine,—
I enjoy them just the same.”

“The star that looks down on the flask
has destroyed the happiness of many.”

“If loving were unwholesome,
Surely the doctor would avoid it,
And if it would hurt the wives,
They surely would not suffer it.”

“In the dish on the table,
Merry he who yet is single,
Sad is he who is engaged.

“True to every man, familiar to
few, to be reserved as much as
possible; then it is known, that
what I am, that I am: and that is true.”

QUESTIONABLE INSCRIPTIONS.—There is another class of ceramic inscriptions, frequently met with, which is strongly characteristic of the rugged and plain-spoken old potters, who, while generally upright in their domestic relations, were fond of a joke with a suggestive point. Such broad sentiments, which in this more refined age would be regarded as highly vulgar, were considered quite amusing in those days. Pieces so inscribed were used in the household without raising a thought of impropriety, but, on the contrary, giving rise to considerable merriment, and many of them served a long and faithful apprenticeship.



A Pennsylvania-German Plate, with Washington.

HISTORY.—At one of the local pot-works in Montgomery County, a favorite design for pie plates was an etched representation of General Washington mounted on a horse. This first appeared soon after Washington's death, and continued to be reproduced with variations in decorative treatment and widely differing inscriptions, for nearly half a century. At first the accompanying inscriptions were more or less appropriate, as on a piece dated 1805:—

"Ich bin geritten über berg und dal
Hab untrei funten über ahl."—

I have ridden over hill and dale
and have found disloyalty everywhere.

It is possible to picture the Father of his Country dashing through the land in quest of loyal subjects, but it would require

some stretch of the imagination to associate his name with some of the peculiar sentiments which are expressed on later examples of ware which bear his presentment, as in the following variation of the same lines:—

“I have ridden many hours and days,
But cannot find any girl who will have me.”

Or in this:—

“I am a horseman like a bear,
I would that I in Heaven were.”



A Pennsylvania-German Plate, with Continental Trooper.

Think of Washington on horseback, flourishing a sabre in one hand and a tobacco pipe in the other, while giving utterance to these words:—

“Ein Peifge tuback ist einem so gut,
Als wan man die daller bei
den Metger ver dut,”—

A pipe of tobacco does a man
as much good
As though he spends his dollar
with the girls.

It would seem that the artist, having failed to convey to the minds of his countrymen, through this crude delineation, the noble features of the first President, in sheer despair abandoned the attempt, but continued to use the device as a decorative subject, which he finally surrounded with any rollicking couplet which occurred to him.

General Jackson was also pictured on pieces which appeared about 1828, and in one conspicuous example we find a representation of the *Mischianza*, which was held in Philadelphia in 1778. Covering the entire centre of the plate are five large figures. Two officers in British uniforms are dancing with two stately Colonial dames, while a third officer is shown in the act of playing the fiddle. This piece bears the date 1786, which would seem to indicate that the report of this brilliant society function at the capital, only fifty miles distant, did not penetrate the German settlement until eight years had elapsed after the event occurred.



A Pennsylvania-German Plate, with Gen. Jackson.

SENTIMENT.—The Pennsylvania-German potter was a man of sentiment, and many of his best pieces of work were dedicated to the ladies. On a dish bearing the precise date, May 22d, 1802, we find this rather obscure statement:—

“Jungferlein und rosen bleder
Vergehen wie das regen weder,”—

Maidens and rose leaves
Pass away like rainy weather.

Another example, dated October 21st, 1793, embellished with the figures of a man and woman holding hands, bears the legend:—

“All beautiful maidens hath God created,
They are for the potter, but not for the priests.”

One worker in clay expresses his idea of the value of conjugal affection in this business-like manner:—



A Pennsylvania-German Dish Inscribed:

Du bist mir ein lieber Man,
So bald ich Dich gesehen hann.

Thou wert to me a lovely man
As soon as I had seen thee.

"To love and to be loved
Is the greatest joy on earth,
and so forth, in the year 1831."

Another declares his passion for a ladylove in these words:—

"I feel now in a loving way,
I have waited for you a long while."

Still another propounds this knotty question to his beloved:—

"If no plaster can cure me,
Would'st thou hie with me
Out of this world of woe
Into the beautiful vault of Heaven?"

The author of the following lines expresses his appreciation of domestic happiness:—

"In the dish stands a house,
He who would pilfer must stay out,
East, West,
My wife is the best."

Many of the decorated and inscribed dishes were intended as presentation pieces, to be sent to friends as birthday or wedding gifts. They also occasionally served as valentines, or tokens of affection from a lover to a sweetheart. A dish of this character bears a device representing two doves, with united bodies, forming a single heart, typical of love and union. Another bears the following inscription:—

"Could I swim like a swan,
Crow like a cock,
Coax like a sparrow,
I would be the favorite of all maidens."

EATING.—As might be supposed, a large proportion of the inscriptions on table utensils relate to eating and cooking. "Reach into the dish, and take not much out," is a piece of advice often found on plates and dishes. "Eating is necessary for existence. Drinking is also good," is a sentiment which occurs on a drinking cup of 1793. A vegetable dish ornamented with the representation of a nondescript fowl, bears the legend:—

"I am a bird all the time,
Whose bread I eat, his song I sing."

The following hygienic hint is found on a circular platter of 1796:—

“No bird forgets to rest a short
hour after eating.”

and on another we read:—

“Early in the morning I fry a sausage
in sour gravy.”

RELIGION.—Beneath the surface of this lighter vein, however, we sometimes find a more serious undercurrent of religious sentiment, which was a guiding principle in the lives of these sturdy pioneers. The homely utensils intended for daily use upon the table were often made the vehicles for conveying to the minds of the young some reverential thought, or for familiarizing them with some quotation from the Scriptures. The highly embellished plaque which was designed to stand upon the mantel-piece or to hang upon the wall, frequently bore, in German lettering, a maxim or precept which should serve as a guide for the members of the family through successive generations. A large dish of 1796, with slip-decorated tulips and birds is thus inscribed:—

“Sing, bet und geh auf Gottes Wegen,
Vericht das deine nur getreu,”—

Sing, pray and go on God's way,
Perform what thou hast to do faithfully.

On another we find:—

“Gottes gut und treu,
Die ist alle mornen neu. Anno Domini 1818,”—

God's goodness and truth
Are new every morning.

Still another bit of religious sentiment, which occurs on a wall plaque of the eighteenth century, is reverently expressed in these words:—

“Blummen Mallen ist gemein,
Aber den geruch zugeben vermoch
nur Gott allein,”—

To paint flowers is a common thing,
But God alone is able to give fragrance.

A curious combination of sentiments, relating to both spiritual and bodily sustenance, is found in two inscriptions on a large meat dish made by a Bucks County potter. Encircling the outer edge of the rim is this quotation from Matthew v: 6:—

“Blessed are they that hunger
and thirst after righteousness,
for they shall be filled,”

while in an inner circle is inscribed:—

“The cabbage is well pickled, but
badly greased.”

The English translations which I have given are but a few of those which I have rendered from the original inscriptions, found on pieces of slip-decorated earthenware mainly in the superb collection of the Pennsylvania Museum. Through these ceramic legends we are enabled to obtain glimpses of the character and traits of the people, for the potters were generally among the most intelligent members of the community, and through their productions they gave expression to the popular sentiments of the day. They perpetuated the old *Sprichwörter*, or proverbs, and recorded the folklore of the people, as *spoken* by them; for the language, as carefully written for publication and commonly spoken, presented many points of difference in construction and spelling. As I have already stated, a purer and more grammatical German was employed in printed books than the so-called Pennsylvania “Dutch,” which was used in ordinary conversation. It was this latter which was inscribed upon the pottery and which appealed more strongly to the plain people.

The curious phase of the potter's art, which flourished in Eastern Pennsylvania for nearly a century and a half, was unsuspected by the historian until its accidental discovery, some ten years ago, opened up a new field of ceramic investigation. Most of the old German potteries have entirely disappeared, and the few that survive have long abandoned the manufacture of inscribed ware. The old dishes which have come down to us through four or five generations contain the only records or suggestions of much that is interesting in the lives of the Pennsylvania German people who lived in the eighteenth century. The Pennsylvania Museum is doing a good work in gathering together the few pieces of this ware that have escaped the de-

structive tooth of time. In the words of one of the old Pennsylvania craftsmen, which have been preserved in clay for more than a hundred years:—

“The dish is made of earth;
When it breaks, the potter laughs;
Therefore take good care of it.”

THE ENGLISH CORONATION, ITS SERVICE AND ITS HISTORY.

BY CHARLES E. DANA.

(Read to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, April 29th, 1902.)

To-day, in this prosaic twentieth century, the exhuming of the almost forgotten coronation ceremonies is certainly conservatism pushed to its extreme limit, or, rather, a palpable anachronism; for the meaning passed away with the Stuarts, if not with the Tudors, and the continuity of custom came to an end with George IV. So I shall ask you for the greater part of the hour I am going to try to detain you, to accompany me back into the past, sometimes near, sometimes far. We may perchance find the meaning of a bit of symbolism here and there, and can hardly help feel the charm of the romance. And if we gain nothing else, we shall at least be the better prepared to wade through the glowing descriptions with which the newspapers will overflow, when the steaming days of June and July are upon us.

First, what was the meaning of the coronation in the days when it had a meaning? To-day, we know that Edward VII is really just as much king at this moment as he will be after the whole exhausting program of June 26th has been gone through,—but in the days of long ago it was far different.

Sovereigns were nominally, and in some cases really, elective. Note the election of the Pope, and of the Emperors of Germany. A certain survival of the form of election, reduced to a very empty one to-day, remains in the coronation service of England. But as the King became in reality an ecclesiastic after his anointing, and as it was this consecration which made him King, this all-important rite was pushed with what seems to us indecent haste. I might mention here that Richard I is not spoken of as King in contemporaneous documents until after his coronation, but only as the Duke of Normandy.

Harold was crowned the day of the Confessor's funeral. During the interregnum, a great state officer, the Lord High

Steward, the Stead-Ward, the Ward of the King's Stead or place, was appointed.

On the authority of Dean Stanley, no other coronation rite in Europe reaches back to so early a period as that of the sovereign of Britain. The coronation of Aidan by St. Columba (who died 597) is the earliest known, and is set forth in the life of that saint written by St. Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, who died 704. The use of the words *ordinare regem* is noticeable; it means the ordination or sanctification of the King, and, taken in connection with the fact that St. Columba is said to have laid his hand on King Aidan's head, indicates the affinity between the sacring of a king and the ordination of a clergyman.

From the Anglo-Saxon order of the Coronation of Egbert, who died 836, was derived the ancient form of the coronation of the Kings of France. It is taken from a ninth century Pontifical. A Pontifical or Ordinarium, as you all know, was a book containing the rites, some of which can be performed by a bishop only, others by priests specially empowered by a bishop. The earliest known Pontifical is that of Egbert, Archbishop of York, 732-766. In this early ceremonial, at the anointing, it reads: "Here he shall pour the oil from the horn over the king's head." Next: "Here all the bishops with the nobles give the sceptre into his hand." Next: "Here shall the staff be given into his hand. Almighty God give thee the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine. Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee, . . ." "Here all the bishops shall take the helmet and put it on the King's head." Then, after the usual blessing: "and all the people shall say three times with the bishops and priests: 'May King ——— live forever. Amen. Amen. Amen.' Then shall the whole people come to kiss the prince, and be strengthened with a blessing." The three-fold oath is last, and is called, "the first decree of a king to his people."

This rite represents: *first*, the form, though not the substance, of the ancient German custom of election. And *second*, the solemn consecration, derived from the Jewish church, by a sacred unction.

Charlemagne, on doubtful authority, when crowned Emperor, at Rome, on Christmas Day, in the year 800, by Pope Leo III, was so anointed. After which the people shouted, "Hail, Carolus-

Augustus, crowned by the Almighty. The Great and Peace-Bringing Emperor of the Romans! Hail! All hail! And Victory!" After which the Pope himself is said to have knelt down and done him homage. An Emperor, as all know, strictly speaking, rules over a confederation of states. A king rules over one state only.

An additional sanctity arose from the fact that for both French and English kings the oil used was of celestial make, and for that reason extremely difficult to duplicate. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims in the ninth century, relates, in his life of St. Remi, that the vial containing the sacred oil was brought down from heaven by a white dove, specially for the coronation (or baptism) of Clovis (died 511), whose dramatic conversion must not be too carefully scanned. Unluckily, Gregory of Tours, an over-credulous historian, who was born only a generation after Clovis's death, does not mention this world-famous miracle.

The English ampulla, to the skeptical modern, seems a little suggestive of a desire not to let the French get ahead in Divine Right. That cantankerous old fighter, Thomas à Becket, while an exile in Lyons, was praying one night in a church, probably alone, when the Virgin appeared to him, bearing a golden eagle and a small vial of stone or glass. These she gave to à Becket, assuring him of the happy effects produced by anointing a king with the celestial oil contained in them. Becket certainly neglected a chance to put this to a proof, for the temper of his royal master, Henry II, the first Plantagenet, was in great need of softening, if one-half we hear of it was true. Unluckily for Henry, and much more unluckily for Becket, the latter was commanded to give the sacred oil to a monk of Poitiers, who was to conceal it in a large stone in the church of St. Gregory, in Poitiers. There the eagle, the vial, and an account of the vision written by à Becket, lay till the days of Edward III. Then another holy man took to dreaming, and by that means found these precious articles. *He* presented them to Edward the Black Prince,—for a consideration (holy men in those days had their failings);—and they were sent to the Tower and carefully stored in a strong chest. Again they were forgotten, for unlucky Richard II was not anointed with this oil of blessed effect; which is a pity, for it might have changed his far from happy fate. Bolingbroke was the first to use the oil, and, no doubt, it sup-

plied some of the much that was lacking in Henry's right to the crown.

The traditionary spot of the first coronation of a British sovereign is worthy of the romantic legend which enshrines his name. Arthur was crowned at Stonehenge. Of the Saxon kings, seven, from Edward the Elder to Ethelred (900-971) were crowned on the King's Stone, by the first ford of the Thames; and the stone is still to be seen in the market-place of Kingston-on-Thames. Danish Hardicanute is believed to have been crowned at Oxford. The Saxons were usually crowned at Winchester; or if in London, at St. Paul's. Sunday was the day most often selected for the ceremony. (Stanley, p. 44.)

Let us try to see Westminster, or St. Peter's, as it was then called, when the first coronation took place there. Of the dark, low-raftered Saxon church which Edward the Confessor destroyed, we know absolutely nothing. Not much more, unfortunately, of its successor, though there is a weird picture of it on the Bayeux Tapestry, but how inexact that is, only the artist thereof knows. It was large, large as the present building, and it was Norman in style; for Edward, though Saxon born was Norman bred. What made this feeble saint so popular is a mystery, but popular he was, and still is; and when he died, January 5th, 1066, in the near-by palace of Westminster, a horror of great darkness filled the land, a gloomy foreboding of what was to come. Next day, a cold January morn, they bore him to his beloved church, lying on his bier, to be seen by all for the last time, in royal state. His robe was one worked by his somewhat neglected wife, the Lady Editha; for *queen* was not said in those Saxon days. Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror, was the first queen. Edward's beard was white as a lily, his cheeks fresh as a rose; so that there is reason to believe that he was an albino.

The dirge was scarcely ended, ere the triumphant tones of the "Te Deum Laudamus" rang like an echo through the majestic aisles, and then began the first of that long series of coronations which Westminster has seen. There is a doubt as to whether Harold was crowned in Westminster or in St. Paul's. The Bayeux Tapestry gives us a curious picture of this coronation, according to which—and the authority is, at least, almost contemporaneous—it appears that neither the story of the King having been crowned by Ealdred, Archbishop of York, nor the

other story of Harold having, himself, placed the "golden round" on his own head, is true; for in this most interesting specimen of ancient art, Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, is represented, "duly labelled," to prevent mistakes. The Roman chroniclers agree, for the most part, that Stigand officiated at Harold's coronation. Florence of Worcester says it was Ealdred; Roger of Wendover says it was the King himself who placed the diadem on his own head. Edward's burial and Harold's coronation follow one another immediately, so that it is probable the double ceremony took place in the same minster. (Freeman, *Norman Conq.* . "*Bayeux Tapestry*," pp. 86, 87.)

Freeman describes this coronation ceremony, taking the details from what is known as the Second Recension of the service, and one that undoubtedly antedates the Conquest; so that it is quite probable that this rite was used at the sacring of both Harold and William. The original manuscript is preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. I add a few more details.

Harold, the King elect, was led by the hand from the assembly of the Elders by two bishops up to the high altar, the choir singing the anthem, "Let thy hand be strengthened, etc." Arriving at the high altar, Harold lay prostrate before it. After which the "Te Deum Laudamus" was sung. At the end Harold rose and stood before the Prelates and the whole people for the last time as Thane. And the bishops and the people, with a great shout, hailed him as their KING. Ealdred, or was it Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury? then demanded of the people in the ancient form whether they would that Harold the Thane should be crowned as their King and Lord. A loud shout of assent rang through the minster. Chosen thus by prelates and people, Harold swore the three-fold oath. Swore—to preserve peace to the Church of God and to all Christian people. Swore—to forbid wrong and robbery to men of every rank within his realm. Swore—to enforce justice and mercy in all his judgments, as he would that God should have mercy on him. And all the people said, "Amen, Amen, Amen." Then came the sacramental rite which changed the Earl into the KING, and, as men then believed, gave him grace from on high, the divine right to rule—or misrule. The holy oil was poured on Harold's head by the Primate, while the choir raised their voices in the glorious anthem, "Zadok the Priest and Nathan the Prophet," etc.

And now King Harold, the Lord's anointed, the chosen of the people, the consecrated of the Church, vested in the robes of royalty and of the priesthood, received in due order the insignia of the kingly office: the RING, the seal of the holy faith; the SWORD, that he might have strength to cast out all his enemies—alas, vain hope, so soon to be disappointed. The King then bowed his head, and the imperial DIADEM of Britain was placed by the Primate upon the head of the King of the Angles, of the Saxons, of the Emperor of the Isle of Albion. Then the SCEPTRE surmounted with the cross, the sign of kingly power. Then the ROD, the sceptre with the dove, the rod of virtue and of equity. And now King Harold sat on his royal throne, the crown upon his brow, in his right hand the sceptre; in his left, that proud badge of the empire, the ORB. Mass followed, then the banquet. The old dynasty of Cerdric, the Saxon Chief who founded the Kingdom of Wessex, had passed away; a new one had come—but not to stay. This was the last day of the Christmas festival—the next Christmas would see a stranger king in Harold's place.

William of Normandy, the Conqueror, the Great, the Bastard, as he is variously called, was the son of Duke Robert of Normandy and of Arlotta, the pretty daughter of a tanner, whom the Duke saw washing her linen in a little brook beneath the cliff of Falaise. This William, not one to trifle with, claimed at least the right to present himself for election before the English people; claimed, in fact, the crown. Another claimant was Tostig, Harold's brother. Tostig fled to Norway, and obtained the assistance of Harold Hardrada, the King of that land. Contrary winds kept the Normans in Saint Valery, but these same winds were favorable to Tostig and Hardrada. By a quick march, English Harold met his northern foe at Stamford-Bridge, near York, September 20th, 1066; defeating them, and killing both Tostig and Hardrada. Turning southward, he sped to meet William, who had landed at Pevensey, September 28th, and had proceeded to cruelly ravage the South-coast, endeavoring to force his rival to battle. But Harold wisely declined to fight, and skilfully entrenched himself on a low spur of the Sussex downs, now known as Senlac, Sang-Lac, Bloody Lake. His position was strong, well-chosen, and covered London. But fickle fortune favored the Normans. In the battle of October 14th, the English were defeated, and Harold the King with almost

all of his fighting men were slain. After that, as the annalist says, "the English bowed to William, for need."

And now let us once more return to Westminster Abbey. It is Christmas Day. Gathered within the massive walls was the Saxon populace of London, intermixed with the retainers of the Norman camp and court. Outside sat the Norman soldiers on their war horses, eagerly watching for any disturbance in the Abbey. Before the high altar, standing on the very grave-stone of the saintly Edward, was the fierce, huge, unwieldy William, the exact contrast of the sensitive, transparent King who lay beneath his feet. On either side stood an Anglo-Saxon and a Norman prelate; the Norman was Godfrey, Bishop of Coutances; the Saxon was Alred, Archbishop of York, who held in his hands the golden crown, of Byzantine workmanship, wrought by Guy of Amiens. Stigand, of Canterbury, whose right it was to place the crown on the sovereign's head, had fled to Scotland. The moment arrived for the ancient form of popular election. The Norman prelate was to address in French those who could not speak English; the Saxon, those who could not speak French. A confused shouting arose from the mixed multitude. The Norman soldiery without, hearing, but not understanding, took alarm, and set fire to the gates of the Abbey, and perhaps to the thatched dwellings which surrounded it, thinking that their King was being murdered within. The people in the Abbey—some terrified for their goods, some eager to join the fray—rushed out, nobles and poor, men and women, so that inside the church, lit up by the lurid flames from without, William, surrounded only by the clergy and the monks of the convent, was left unarmed and defenceless in his place before the high altar. As he took the solemn coronation oath, his voice drowned by the roar of the flames and the shouts of the soldiers, the great Conqueror, it is recorded, trembled with fear and agitation. The ceremony was brought to a hasty close, omitting the sacrament, as soon as the new crown, heavy with gems, which William had had made for himself, rather than wear the Saxon diadem, was placed on his head.

From that time forward the ceremony of the coronation has been inalienably attached to the Abbey. The various objects forming the Regalia were strictly Anglo-Saxon by their traditional names: the Crown of Alfred, or of St. Edward, for the King; the Crown of Edith, wife of the Confessor, for the Queen. The

Sceptre with the Dove was the reminiscence of Edward's peaceful days after the expulsion of the Danes. The Gloves were a reminder of his abolition of the Danegelt;* though William, regardless of his coronation oath, re-established it. The gloves also typified that the King's hands should be moderate in taking taxes. With the Ring he was wedded to his people. The Oath retained till the time of James II was, to observe "the laws of the glorious Confessor." A copy of the Gospels, said to have belonged to Athelstan, was the book on which for centuries the coronation oath was taken. The church of Westminster was called in consequence, "the head, crown, and diadem of the kingdom." The Regalia were kept in the Treasury of Westminster till the time of Henry VIII; and the larger part, till the Commonwealth, when in 1649 they were broken to pieces; and even now, though permanently kept in the Tower, the objects to be used are still, by a shadowy connection with the past, placed under the custody of the Dean before each coronation. And while on the subject of the Regalia, let us take a glance, perforce but a hasty one, at some of the objects therein contained, and at the vestments.

In the account of the coronation of Charles II, Sir Edward Walker, Garter, Principal King of Arms, gives many curious details and also drawings, which, though very elementary, show that the old models had been preserved; as many of the designs are copies from the old regalia, about which we know little.

The old Regalia were carefully appraised in 1649 by Sir Harry Mildmay, who thereby obtained the title of the "Knave of Diamonds." The jewels were sold; and despite the protests of the Lords, who explained to the fanatics then in power that the workmanship of the plate was worth far more than the precious metals, all went into the melting-pot. Some of the items are most pathetic, not to say enough to make one feel anything but friendly to the stolid old Puritans.

The Imperial Crown of massy gold, weighing 7 lbs. 6 oz.,			
value, ...	£1,110	os.	od.
The Queen's Crown of massy gold, weighing 3 lbs. 10 oz., ...	338	3	4
A small crown found in an iron chest formerly in the Lord			
Cottington's charge, probably Edward VI's—the gold, ..	73	16	8
The diamonds, rubies, sapphires, etc., ...	355	0	0

*A tax paid as tribute to the Danes.

The globe, two coronation bracelets, two sceptres, a long rod; Queen Edith's crown, formerly believed to be of massy gold, but upon trial found to be of silver gilt; King Alfred's crown of gold and wirework; one silver spoon; one pair of silver gilt spurs; all, by Act of Parliament, were broken and defaced.

Almost sadder:

One common taffety robe, very old, valued at, ...	£0	10s.	od.
One robe laced with gold lace, ...		10	
One liver colored robe, silk, very old and worth nothing,			
One pair of buskins, cloth of silver and silver stockings,			
very old, ...	2	6	
One pair of shoes of cloth of gold, at, ...	2	0	
One pair of gloves embroidered with gold, at, ...	1	0	
Three swords with scabbards of cloth of gold, ...	3	0	0
One old comb of horn, worth nothing.			

To replace those destroyed by fanaticism, so that Charles II,

"Whose word no man relies on,
Who never said a foolish thing,
And never did a wise one,"

could be crowned, an entire new outfit had to be made. Charles wore, first a *shirt* of fine linen, opened in the places for anointing. Over it another shirt, of red *sarcenet*. (*Sarcenet* is a silk stuff, deriving its name from Saracen, having been first made by them, and introduced into England in the thirteenth century.) Over this he wore a *surcoat* made of crimson satin, which was made with a collar for a band; both opened for anointing, and closed with ribands. A pair of under "*trowsers*" and *breeches* over them, with *stockings* fastened to the trowsers, all of crimson silk. Then the *Colubium Sindonis*, a tunic, alb, or rochet, of fine linen or cambric. At the coronation of Charles, this was made with large sleeves, like a surplice; but it has been made sleeveless ever since. It is an ancient robe of bishops and priests, and is rather suggestive of a shroud. It is richly laced about the neck, arm-holes, and bottom. Over this is worn the "*Supertunica*," a close coat of cloth of gold reaching to the heels, lined with crimson taffeta (formerly a thick silk, now a thin quality of the same material) and girt with a broad girdle or sword-belt of cloth of gold. This is the "*Dalmatic*," a garment referred to in the second century as the "sleeved tunic of the Dalmatians." It is ecclesiastical, and symbolizes the monarch as representing the Church and the protector of its privileges.

The "armilla," or stole, richly embroidered, was put about the neck and fastened with silk ribands above and below the elbows. The name "armilla" for the stole is very confusing, for the Latin word signifies *bracelet*. In the coronation service of Henry VII, it says: "The King thus gird with his swerd and standing, shall take armyll of the Cardinall, saying these words, 'Accipe Armillam,' . . . to be put by the Cardinall aboute the King's necke, and comyng from both shouldres to the King's both elbowes, where it shal be fastened by the said Abbot [of Westminster] with laces of silk on every elbow in twoo places . . . above the elbowes and byneth." The stole is worn by the Anglican, Roman, and Oriental priests whilst officiating at public service. The original use of the stole was that of a pocket-handkerchief, to wipe the perspiration from the brow, and for other purposes.

A pair of hose, or buskins, of cloth of gold. "Tinsin-hose," they are sometimes called. Tinsin was a kind of satin. These buskins, magnificently embroidered, formed part of the costume of the Roman Emperors. A pair of linen gloves. These were provided by the Lord Great Chamberlain. The King was anointed first on the palms of the hands, and the gloves were worn that the places might be covered.

Next, the Linen Coif. After the unction, the Dean of Westminster dries the places where the King has been anointed, with cotton wool, which is afterwards burned; and then closes the openings in the King's shirt.

It may be well to state here that the parts of a King to be anointed are: first, on the palms of the hands; second, on the breast; third, on the shoulders and back; fourth, on the inside of the elbows; and, lastly, on the head. In the pre-reformation times this was followed by the unction on the crown of the head with chrism, taken, probably, from out of the golden eagle. In the Stuart coronation orders, the King was anointed with chrism only, the simple oil not being used at all. Chrism consists of olive oil mixed with balm. This balm is a perfumed resin from a tree which grows in Arabia and in Judea.

To go back to the linen cloth. The chrism poured upon the head was not wiped off. To protect it from irreverence, the Lord Great Chamberlain put a shallow coif of fine lawn upon the King's head, after the prayer "Deus qui es iustorum." The cloth was worn for eight days. At the end of that time a mass, "de Trinitate," was said by a bishop, in the presence of the King;

after which, the bishop took off the coif, and washed the King's head with warm water, and the King wore a golden circlet that day "in reverence" and "in dealbation" (cleanness or whiteness). Though the custom of wearing the coif has long ceased, it was used at the coronation of George III; and was provided at that of George IV, but does not seem to have been used.

There was also a silk towel to be held before the King by two bishops, at the Communion.

There are four swords kept in the Tower. The largest of these is the Sword of State, a two-hand sword, the blade 32 inches long, 2 inches wide. The cross, or guard, or what is technically known as the "quillon," is formed of a lion on one side, a unicorn on the other, and a rose between. The handle is decorated, in a not very artistic manner, with the portcullis, fleur de lis, harp, and thistle. These appear on the scabbard at short intervals, with a couple of roses and the royal arms. Next in interest is "Curtana," the *pointless* sword of Mercy. This is also known as the "Sword of Edward the Confessor." It was formerly the privilege of the Earls of Chester to carry it before the King. The point is cut off square, typical of mercy. The blade of Curtana is about the same size as that of the Sword of State. The others are, "The Sword of Justice to the Spirituality" and the "Sword of Justice to the Temporality."

The Portcullis badge referred to above was adopted by John of Gaunt (died 1399), founder of the House of Lancaster, and created Duke of Lancaster in 1355. His son "Bolingbroke" was the first Lancastrian to reign, under the title of Henry IV. Bolingbroke is only the name of the place in Lincolnshire where he was born. This portcullis is often called the "Tudor Badge," because Henry VII adopted it, with the motto, "*Altera securitas*" (a further, or second, security), referring, it is said, to his descent from the Beaufort family as an additional right to the throne. As the Beaufort family was illegitimate, and as, on his father's side, Henry was the grandson of a simple Welsh gentleman, Owen Tudor, who happened to marry the widow of Henry V, to the naked eye the "divine right" of Henry VII to the throne of England is not very distinct.

Now we come to the CROWN. This is rather too large a subject to touch on here. Egyptian monarchs, Assyrian monarchs, and others all wore elaborate crowns about which we know something, though not very much. Roman Emperors

wore the simple fillet, till, say, the sixth century. Even the great Napoleon used only a golden wreath of laurel at his coronation. In some things the conqueror did not disdain to imitate the great Romans.

Among the most interesting crowns of antiquity which we possess, are those in the Museum of Cluny, in Paris. They are Gothic, of the seventh century, and were found near Toledo, where they had been buried, probably, to hide them from the Moslem invader. Equally interesting is the sacred "*Iron Crown of Lombardy*," kept in the cathedral of Monza, near Milan, and probably of about the same date as the Spanish ones; being of similar form, though solid, while the others are in outline, so to speak. The Lombard crown is a circlet of six gold plates, enameled in green, the whole held in place by a circlet of iron inside. About 1600, the happy idea struck someone that it was not absolutely impossible for the circlet of iron to have been forged from a nail of the true cross. Charles V, than whom there never was a more devout believer, was crowned in 1529 with this circlet, but was not aware of the sacredness of the iron hoop. These crowns were votive offerings. When not such at the outset they became so later, and were hung up before shrines in memory of some pious monarch, lately deceased, who had no further use for an earthly crown. The crowns in the Cluny Museum are admirable examples of this, all the chains and pendants remaining intact; even the queer names of the old fellows glitter out at us once more with their odd sound and spelling: RECCESUINTHUS, SUINTHILA, etc. Twenty-five such crowns, one for each departed royalty, hung in the cathedral of Toledo when it was captured by the Moslems in 712.

The so-called crown of Charlemagne is of intense interest. It is kept in the Treasury at Vienna, and has been used for all the Kings of the Romans since the twelfth century. The trifling detail that it is of Greek workmanship, and was made about 300 years after the great Charles departed this life, seems to make its personal connection with him a little less real, but does not detract a whit from its interest, nor lighten its four-pounds weight.

In England, the fashion in crowns was, for a long time, rather crude. A penny of Athelstan's (died 940) shows a sort of helm with a fillet about it, from which rise three uprights, each topped with a pearl. A half-penny of the same king shows a precisely

similar crown without the helmet. Canute (died 1035) blossoms out in trefoils. Edward the Confessor seems, from the penny of his day, to have added the arches. Similar arches are to be seen on the crowns of Harold, of William the Conqueror, and others. The fleur de lis appears on the crown of Henry I (died 1135). The same, alternating with crosses "patées," Maltese crosses, as in the crown of to-day, are on the crown of our usurping friend, Henry VII (died 1509), combined with the arches and the orb topped with a cross. This makes practically the modern form.

The crown, or, at least a sort of crown, was frequently worn by the King, on the helmet, in actual battle. It is so represented on the great seals of several sovereigns. Henry V wore his at Agincourt. There is a story that Richard III had the crown knocked from his helmet at Bosworth Field. A soldier found it and hid it in a hawthorn bush. There it was discovered by Sir Reginald Bray, who gave it to Lord Stanley, step-father of Henry. As the pursuit reached the top of a hill, and it was evident that the field was won, a halt was called, and Stanley placed the crown on Richmond's head, hailing him as Henry VII; the finest coronation of the lot, though Henry went through the conventional one later. From the manner of finding the crown arose the saying, "Cleave to the crown, though it hang on a bush," which, like many other old sayings, has had its point somewhat blunted by time. The hill is still called "Crown Hill."

Alterations are made in the crown to suit the taste of each sovereign. The crown of George IV, in 1821, was exceptionally gorgeous; thereby forming a striking contrast to the nonentity who wore it. In fact, the richness was such that it could not be paid for. The estimated value of the whole was £150,000. The jewellers, Rundell & Bridge, charged £70,000 for work and material furnished by them; this, Lord Liverpool declined to sanction, so that the emblem of royalty had to be hired for the occasion at a cost of £7,000, say, \$70,000 of our money. No one seems to have suggested hiring a real king for the occasion, to fit the crown. Seventeen years later, this same crown was completely remade by the same jewelers for Queen Victoria. This time, no one grudged the expense; no crown could have been too rich for the lady who gave her name to the Victorian Era. The descriptions of the diamonds, sapphires, pearls, rubies, etc.,

are as dazzling as the stones themselves. Let us notice one or two:—

In the middle of the front cross, from which springs the main arch (the arches always spring from a cross, never from the fleur-de-lis), is the huge ruby, pierced in the oriental manner, the hole plugged by a small ruby. In the Alcazar of Seville, more than 500 years ago, Pedro the Cruel gave royal welcome to the Moslem "Red King of Granada." The Christian King gave the Mohammedan a safe conduct, and then—murdered him for his jewels, this among the rest. That sturdy, somewhat savage old Breton hero, one of the very finest in France's long list, Bertrand du Guesclin, drove the perjured King out of Spain. Pedro fled to that English hero, the Black Prince—the world was rich in heroes just then—and Edward put Pedro on his throne again. This ruby was given as part payment for that evil deed. No sooner had Pedro got fairly seated on his throne, than his half-brother, Henry of Transtamare, assassinated him, as he most richly deserved. This same ruby shed its lurid ray from the helm of another of England's greatest, Henry V, at the glorious field of Agincourt.

Below the ruby is the superb uncut sapphire. "This stone is of the purest, deepest azure, is some 2 inches long and 1 inch wide. It was in the crown of Charles II." The rose-cut sapphire in the surmounting cross is said to be from the famous ring of Edward the Confessor, and was long treasured up in his shrine.

The Sceptres are two: "*Royal*," with a cross on the top, 2 feet 9½ inches long, for anyone who cares for inches. This is placed in the right hand of the sovereign at the coronation. Also the Sceptre called the "*Rod*." At its top, perched on the cross surmounting the orb, is a white enamel Dove. This symbolizes the Holy Ghost and the Divine Leadership. The Rod is borne in the left hand, and is some ten inches longer than the "*Royal Sceptre*."

The Coronation Ring is not remarkable in any way.

The Orb dates from the time of Charles II. It is placed in the Sovereign's *right* hand on his being crowned, but is afterwards carried in the left. The Orb is the symbol of Sovereignty and Power; it has been common to both the Eastern and the Western Emperors, since the time of Constantine.

The Coronation Spoon, of silver gilt, is about ten inches long.

It may be of the twelfth century. The Ampulla is also ancient, but the exact date of it is impossible to fix. Tradition says it was used at the coronation of Henry IV (October 13th, 1399). In shape, it is a rather long-necked eagle, made of gold. The head screws off, about the middle of the neck, for the purpose of filling. But when used at the coronation, the oil flows out at the beak. The oil, by the way, seems to be rather an expensive luxury. James II paid his apothecary £200 for the amount used at his sacring; as if any amount of oil could have made James II sacred. That sum would, to-day, amount to, say, \$10,000.

In early days, before such things became mere pageants, the sovereign received the unction *kneeling*; but since the time of Charles I he has been *seated*. While the ceremony was being performed, four Knights of the Garter held a canopy of cloth of gold over the King. Originally, this was like a tent, and completely hid him from view. The anointing was, therefore, supposed to take place in secret. This was forgotten in 1689, when William and Mary were anointed; so all were able to see the ceremony. The Dean of Westminster pours the oil from the ampulla into the spoon, and with the spoon the Archbishop anoints the sovereign, as already mentioned, in the form of a cross. The spoon has been used for this purpose since 1660 only.

The *bracclets* have not been used since the time of Edward VI; so we need not dwell upon them, especially as they are mere copies of the ancient pair.

There are, needless to say, many other objects of interest in the Regalia; amongst them are several crowns, all modern, of course. The most important is that called "St. Edward's," the real official crown which, whether worn or not, is always present at a coronation. Then, worthy of note, there is the crown and the circlet of Mary of Modena, the second wife of James II. She died at St. Germain, 1718. The Spurs are a symbol of the military character of the sovereign. They are presented to him, touched by him, then placed upon the altar; from whence they can be taken only after the payment of a good round sum to the lucky Dean and Chapter. This same one-sided little game is played with other objects. It is the day of perquisites, and every helping hand extended grasps something out of all proportion to the service rendered,—and retains it, also.

The THRONE, "St. Edward's Chair," contains the Liafail,

"The Stone of Destiny," which Edward I brought from Scotland in 1296. Legends round it thickly swarm, from its apocryphal appearance in Egypt, many centuries before the Christian era, till after its journeyings to and from Ireland, it seems, in 850 A. D., to have settled in the Abbey of Scone; where, being a piece of Scotch sandstone, it, no doubt, felt more at home. All this time it has been a favorite but uncomfortable resting place of scores and scores of comely or queer, uncouth or savage *kings*. In its present position, it has borne up every sovereign of England, including Cromwell, who had the chair removed to Westminster Hall. On the back of this chair of chairs, which Edward had made and dedicated to the Confessor, was written, in Latin:—

Unless the fixed decrees of fate give way,
The Scots shall govern and the sceptre sway,
Where'er this stone they find and its dread sound obey.

The legend being that when the right king seated himself on the stone, it groaned or spoke. One would think it must have shrieked when the last Scottish sovereigns, the unspeakable Stuarts, sat upon it. At a coronation, the chair is covered with cloth of gold. Unhappy, possibly over-abused, Mary Tudor was the first queen-regnant of England to be anointed in this chair. Her marriage to that brutal bigot, Philip of Spain, was solemnized in grand old Saxon Winchester. One never thinks of *King* Philip of England; fortunately, about that, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher had a word to say.

About three miles from the little town of Horncastle on the Bane, almost due east of Lincoln, with its glorious cathedral, is Scrivelsby Court, the seat of the Dymoke family, Sir Frank Seaman Dymoke, Baronet. Parts of the mansion are ancient, but fire and additions have wrought havoc. The house and lands were held by "Barony and grand-Sergeantry," the terms of the tenure being that at each coronation of a monarch of England, "the lord of the manor, or some person in his name, if he himself is not able, shall come well armed for war, upon a good war horse, into the presence of our Lord the King, and shall then and there cause it to be proclaimed that if anyone shall say that our Lord the King has no right to his crown or kingdom, he will be ready and prepared to defend with his own body the right of the King," etc.

"When first the new crowned King in splendor reigns,
 A golden cup the loyal champion gains.
 With gesture fierce, his gauntlet stern he throws,
 And dares to mortal fight his *absent foes*.
 Where no brave Quixote answering to his call,
 He rides triumphant thro' the guarded hall,
 Thrice happy conqueror that the laurel wears
 Unstained by warrior's blood or widow's tears.
 Arm'd at all points, should he a foe behold,
 Say, *would he keep the field, or quit the gold?*"*

It is said the office originated at the scene of horror and carnage which we peeped in at during the coronation of the Conqueror. When, as related, the soldiers outside heard the acclamations within the Abbey, and made it an excuse for plunder and worse, one of the captains rushed into the building, and challenged anyone who disputed William's right. This so pleased the King that he then and there established the office of Champion, nearly nine hundred years ago, conferring it on the zealous captain, let us hope, who was Robert de Marmion, Lord of Fonteney, in Normandy. Male heirs in the Marmion line gave out, away back in the fourteenth century; a daughter of the Marmions married a Gloucestershire knight named Sir John Dymoke, her dower being Scrivelsby Hall, in Lincolnshire. There was much debate between Scrivelsby and Tamworth Tower and Town, but the Court of Claims of the day decided that Scrivelsby was the head of the Marmion barony, and thus it happened that the last Champion who ever rattled and jingled into Westminster Hall was the late Sir Henry Dymoke, with the motto, "Dimico pro Rege," blazoned on his shield, at the coronation of George IV; the office being omitted from the crowning of William IV and Victoria for motives of economy. It is asserted, however, that the Dymoke of the day was present at both these coronations, ready to do his knightly devoir had occasion offered, for the good reason that the estate, title, and emoluments would be lost should he fail to perform the duties which constitute the terms of tenure. It has also been asserted that the Champion could sell Scrivelsby Court to any rich American who cared for that kind of fun; but that is a mistake, for a manor held by a peculiar tenure from the Crown cannot be sold without the King's consent; and even if such consent is

*Jones, *Crowns and Coronations*, p. 128.

given, all rights, privileges, and emoluments revert to the Crown, and could only be restored by special act of Parliament.

Scott, in "Marmion," makes the heralds at Norham Castle greet Lord Marmion, who had a tremendous reputation for generosity, most enthusiastically:—

"They hailed him Lord of Fontenaye,
Of Lutterward and Scrivelbaye,
Of Tamworth tower and town;"*

Then they cried "Largesse," as they never failed to do. That, freely translated, means: "Please remember the herald, sir."

The Champion selects a suit of armor at the Tower, and "the best but one" of the horses from the royal stables, with suitably gorgeous trappings. All of these he appropriates as part of his fee. Then the King drinks the Champion's health out of a silver gilt cup, hands it to the Champion, when that far from bashful Dymoke finishes the wine and puts the cup, with its cover, into his pocket.

James II rather got the better of the doughty Dymoke of his day. Law, in its bad French, said the cup must be "d'orie." Former sovereigns had given a golden cup. James decided that *doré* meant *gilt*, and a silver cup gilt it has been from that day to this.

But the Dymokes ever kept a vigilant eye on the cups, and when William and Mary were crowned, the wily Dymoke of that day claimed *two* cups. In early days, when the Champion was not Pickwickian, horse and armor were claimed only when a combat ensued. As no Dymoke ever ran the slightest possible risk of combat, his claim was very far from modest. "Champion Dymoke," for so he seems to have been officially called, attempted at the coronation of George I a grand coup. He selected a most valuable suit of armor, that had formerly belonged to Charles II, and claimed his right to keep it. This was rather too much, so the Board of Ordnance of the Tower sent him £60 for the Champion act, and told him to begone.

In early days the Champion rode in the procession from the Tower, and proclaimed the challenge at various points en route. Now he only does his devoir after the ceremony is completed, and objections would be absurd.

* Canto I, xi.

There are, of course, tales, with little or no foundation, of how the challenge was accepted, after England was freed from the Stuarts. Walter Scott gives one, with his usual picturesque surroundings, in the story of *Redgauntlet*. Another is said to have occurred at the coronation of William and Mary. The Champion's gauntlet, according to the tale, was lifted by an old woman on crutches; these, however, she left behind her; and in place of the Champion's gauntlet she dropped her own glove, with an invitation to meet her the next day in Hyde Park, in a retired spot, suitable for champions, at a fixed hour. A person in the same dress appeared at the appointed place the next day, but the heroic Dymoke was very busy elsewhere. The supposition was that the old woman was some very clever swordsman disguised, and that he intended to make short work of the Champion.

Let me, before going further, lighten the gloom of this part of my subject with a few coronation facetiæ; they are not absolutely Saxon, but are all of an age that is eminently respectable.

George I could not speak English, and those about him were equally ignorant of German; so the ceremony was stumbled through with a sort of Latin jargon. In the history of the coronation, the author says that much *bad language* passed between the King and his ministers; a jest, he naïvely adds, that gave great amusement for many years after.

At the coronation of George III, the great diamond in the upper part of the crown fell.

"When first portentous it was known
Great George had jostled from his crown
The brightest diamond there,
The omen-mongers, one and all,
Foretold some mischief must befall,
Some loss beyond compare."

Great Britain, I believe, lost some quite important colonies in that reign. George was unlucky in other matters. The Earl Marshall forgot a lot of the stage properties, and caused great delay; he comforted the King by assuring him that at the next coronation no such mishaps should occur. Somewhat like Lady Coventry's remark to the same King, that the only sight she longed to see was a coronation.

At the same time, the horse of Lord Talbot, one of the equestrian performers, was too well trained, and insisted on coming in backwards, and it was with great difficulty that he could be persuaded not to present his wrong end to the King. The celebrated John Wilkes saw something funny in this, and Talbot challenged him. Fortunately, the duel was bloodless. At the coronation of James II, Champion Dymoke got off his horse to kiss the King's hand, but fell flat and kissed the ground instead. The Queen remarked: "See, love, what a weak champion you have." At the coronation of George I, when Jacobitism was still something more than a name, the Archbishop of Canterbury, according to custom, demanded the homage of the people to their King. Lady Dorchester, in a perfectly audible "aside," remarked: "Does the old fool think that anybody here will say 'No' to his question, when there are so many drawn swords about?"

There are in England three kinds of offices. First, hereditary; second, those which are an appanage to a title; and, last, those which are performed owing to tenure of lands by grandsergeantry. Of the hereditary are: the Lord High Steward, Lord Grand Chamberlain, Lord High Constable, Earl Marshal, and he who carries the spurs. Of the second are the *server* and the *sword bearers*. Of the last are the Grand Almoner, the Chief Butler, the Chief Cup-Bearer, the Panneter, the Lardner, the Napier, the Champion, etc. Then come the Barons of the Cinque Ports. These Freemen were called "Barons," because they held their lands and privileges as joint tenants-in-chief of the Crown, by fealty and special military (in this case, naval) service. The original Cinque Ports were Hastings, Sandwich, Dover, Romney, Hythe. Later was added Winchelsea and Rye.

The person to anoint and crown the sovereign is the Archbishop of Canterbury, for which service he walks off with the purple chair he sat in. The Archbishop of Canterbury is "Primate and Metropolitan of all England." He crowns the sovereigns, and consecrates new-made bishops. He is next in rank to the Royal Family, and can call the Archbishop of York to his provincial synod. York is "Primate of England and Metropolitan of his Province"; he crowns the Queen Consort and is her perpetual chaplain.

The Panneter, or keeper of the pantry, has to carry the salt-cellar and carving-knives to the King's table. As guerdon for

this weighty and important service to the Crown, he made off with all he carried, together with the "cover-pane" (pane: a cloth; table-cloth) of the King's table and all the spoons. A number of most fortunate deaths has placed this office in the power of the crown, so that now the spoons are in comparative safety.

Lardner,—the word comes from the French "lard," fat, bacon, a tub to keep the same in. The Chief Lardner provides the meat for the dinner. His fee is the cold victuals left over. This office has been held since the coronation of Edward VI, February 20th, 1547, by the Nevilles, Lords of Abergavenny, one of the proudest names in the English peerage.

The Sewer is the server, the one who places the dishes on the table.

Napier is from the French "nappe," a cloth, a sheet. He provides the cloths and napkins, all of which he appropriates after the feast is over.

The King's supporters, from the time of Richard of the Lion Heart, have been the Bishop of Durham on the right and the Bishop of Bath and Wells on the left. The former is Earl of Sadberge and ranks as second bishop in England. He is the only prelate who really has a right to a coronet round his mitre. By the way, mitres went out of use at the coronation of George III, 1760. A mitre on the top of one of the huge wigs then worn would have been delightfully burlesque. It might be suggested to them to wear the mitre and abandon the black kid gloves.

The Chalice of St. Edward is carried by a bishop; so, too, the Paten. Of all the officers, the Earl Marshal is, probably, the most important. He is the chief of the Herald's College, and superintends all the arrangements. In the procession he walks with the Lord High Constable, and we shall see him later in his equestrian performance with the Champion. One of his claims is to help put the crown on the King's head, and to hold it in place by one of the front ornaments, after he has got it there. As his fee, he walks off with the King's palfry, also the Queen's and King's table-cloth, the cloth spread behind the King at dinner, and the *chincs* (backbones with the adjacent flesh) of all the swans and cranes served up.

The Lord Great Chamberlain has to dress the King on the morning of the coronation. He carries the coif and the linen

gloves, he brings the oblations, he strips the King for his unction, puts the sword and spurs on him; is responsible for the crown and the robe used after the service, and at the banquet brings the water for the King to wash. In the procession, he walks alone, his white rod of office in his hand, behind the Lord Mayor of London, Garter, and Black Rod. The fee that he claims is enormous: 40 yards of crimson velvet, the bed, bedding, furniture of the room the King slept in, including his apparel, down to his very night-gown. He also claims a cup of assay, or tasting cup; this he does not get. At the coronation of George III he was allowed the King's robe and a money fee by the Court of Claims.

The Lord High Constable is now only appointed to act at the coronation. The holder of the office wielded such power, that there was no successor to the last Constable, Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who was beheaded on Tower Hill, in 1521.

The Chief Butler provides the wine. The Duke of Norfolk holds this office as well as that of Earl Marshal, so his loot is rich, indeed.

All these various claims and many more are settled by the Court of Claims. This sits in the Privy Council Office, in Downing Street, and is presided over, nominally, by the Lord High Steward. The following is from an account of the first sitting of the Court for the coming coronation, December 4th, 1901: "The Lord Chancellor, with the mace borne in front of him, entered the court room shortly after eleven o'clock. He wore his robes of office and his full-bottomed wig, while his colleagues were in their uniform as Privy Councillors, with the exception of the Duke of Norfolk, who wore the scarlet uniform of the Earl Marshal, with the riband of the Garter over it." I will add a few of the claims:—

The Lord Mayor of London to have a gold cup.

The Lord of the Manor of Nether Bilsington to present the King with three maple cups. This is the most remarkable ceremony at the coronation, for this lord of the Manor of Nether Bilsington presents his three maple cups and goes away with no part of the regalia or other property of the nation in his pocket. No other peer or prelate rises to such a height of patriotic unselfishness. These maple cups come in very handy, for the Lord Mayor of Oxford offers, immediately after, a gilt cup of wine

and receives for his fee the three maple cups. Then the Lord of the Manor of Liston, in Essex, presents a dish of wafers, somewhat like those made by Huntley & Palmer. The Lord of the Isle of Man presents his majesty with two falcons, completely hooded and furnished with bells.

These tenures are very curious: the Duke of Wellington has to present to the sovereign, at Windsor, on June 18th, the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, a French tri-colored flag. John Baker once had lands in Kent because he held King Henry II's head when that singularly irascible monarch was sea-sick, between Dover and Whitesand. The ancient chronicler, in mentioning this, leaves nothing to the imagination; but one cannot help feeling that John Baker fully paid his rent. These presentations are made at the end of the banquet.

Of course, many decisions of vital importance to the nation are made by the Court of Claims, such as: Who is to perform the duties of chief Lardner? Who is to be His Majesty's chief Carver for Scotland? Who is to act as chief Butler for Ireland? Who is to provide a glove and support the King's arm?

Now, to take up the story of what a coronation was:

First, as time will not permit me to give any of the service, let me say that the prayers are, from a literary point of view, sadly lacking. They are long, rambling compositions, filled with a wealth of Old Testament illustration worthy of a Scotch Covenanter, interspersed with truculent allusions to heretics. There is an evident dread that the King will not keep his oath, and a calling on heaven to aid him in his attempts at doing right. In Latin, the prayers were tolerable, but the translation of 1603 rendered them quite the reverse.

The real coronation ceremonies began with the procession from the Tower. This was discontinued at the crowning of James II. The White Tower was for centuries a royal residence, and continued to be such until the reign of Elizabeth. The White Tower is what most of us call *the* Tower. It is that tall, three or four-storied, whitish construction, with pepper-box turrets at the corners, and exceedingly uncomfortable dungeons underneath. If royalty liked that habitation, what must peasantry have put up with? The passages, running through the walls, fit only for human mice, are so narrow that a reasonably burly being fills one up completely; while the different stories are connected only with well-stairs, a cork-screw fitted into a hole.

Before the departure of the sovereign from the Tower, there was a creation of the Knights of the Bath. Let us linger for a moment, as the ceremony is of the strangest, full of the spirit of the Middle Ages. The candidate was placed under the charge of "two esquires of honor." After the barber had done his office, no doubt badly needed, the novice was conducted to a chamber where a bath was prepared. This never-before-seen machine was, no doubt, explained to the novice, as well as the beneficial effect of water when applied to the human skin. The bath was prepared with linen within and without, also a rich covering to be spread over all when the victim was immersed. Then was the would-be knight undressed, popped in, and left to soak, all covered up in the before-mentioned rich draperies provided for the purpose. Here, enter "two ancient and grave knights," who instruct him in the way he should go; and after much improving discourse, seemingly exceedingly ill-timed, they mark with water on the bather's left shoulder the sacred emblem of the cross, and solemnly depart. The bath then gives up its victim, who is placed in a simple bed, without hangings, and there left to dry. Emerging therefrom, a white shirt is put upon him; over this goes a russet robe like that of a hermit. The "two ancient and grave knights" then reappear, but this time a spirit of levity seems to have seized upon them, and they all go to the chapel with "sporting and melody." Here the novice makes his solemn vigil of arms. His sword is placed upon the altar, and the night is spent in vigil and prayer,—at least, it ought to be. In the morning, the priest, for a rather stiff consideration, returns him his sword and says the "*benedictiones ensis*" (consecration of the sword), girds the novice, and gives him his blessing. After which come more fees, accolade from the King, etc. At the door of the chapel, the master-cook awaits the new knight with the re-assuring remark: "If you do anything contrary to the Order of Chivalry, which God forbid, I shall hack the spurs from your heel."

The present custom of creating peers at a coronation, no doubt, is an evolution of the foregoing. We have one, so to speak, "anticipation"; Richard II, 1377, created four earls and nine knights. Then Henry IV, 1399, creates forty-six knights; Edward VI, 1547, eight peerages; Elizabeth, 1559, four; Charles I, 1626, eight; Charles II, 1661, twelve; George I, 1714, fourteen;

George IV, twenty-two; William IV, twenty-two; Victoria, 1838, eleven.

There is a most interesting document in the British Museum, called the *Little Device for the Coronation of Henry VII*; but it is probably copied from one giving similar details of the crowning of Richard III, and may date from 1500. Much of what follows is taken from it.

By it, the King is permitted to go to dinner after the creation of the Knights of the Bath. Dinner over, the procession through the City begins. In it march all the lords temporal, the Mayor, Aldermen, Heralds, Serjeants-at-Arms, trumpets, minstrels, and other officers. The King is directed to be dressed in white and green, the Tudor livery, together with a long gown of purple velvet furred with ermine, etc. He is to ride bare-headed on a richly-caparisoned courser, with seven other equally richly-caparisoned led horses following. A canopy of cloth of gold is carried over the King's head, supported by four gold staves. These are borne by "four noble knights, they to be changed at divers and many places, as well for that the King may be served of many and noble persons to their great honor, as for their ease."

Immediately after the King, his sword shall be borne by the Earl of Derby, the Lord Great Chamberlain, on the right; the Marshal of England on the left. Among the many peers who follow are representatives of the ancient Duchies of Guyenne and Normandy. At the coronation of George I, these parts were literally *played*; two actors took them, and for that day consorted with the sterling peers. These so-called "Dukes" appear for the last time in the procession of George IV from Westminster Hall to the Abbey; the parts were then taken by private gentlemen.

The procession marched along Cornhill, Cheapside, St. Paul's, Ludgate Hill, Fleet Street, and the Strand, to Whitehall. The streets were railed off and lined with the master-craftsmen, beginning with the lesser guilds and going up to the highest. The houses were hung with tapestries, "cloth-of-arras," the quaint description calls it; and many of the wealthier, with cloth of gold. Gayly dressed dames filled every window, while each open space was packed with dense masses of the less favored crowds.

Masques and long, dreary oratorical displays greeted the sovereign at intervals. Triumphal arches, of course, abounded. Pepys speaks of the last procession, that of Charles II. This was

an exceptionally gorgeous one. Charles understood how much the people loved this magnificent mummary, and how important it was for the like of him thus to play to the gallery.

James II had an estimate made, and found that the procession from the Tower would cost about half as much as he intended to expend in covering his wife, Mary of Modena, with trinkets. The procession was abandoned, and more than a hundred thousand pounds laid out in dressing the Queen. James was niggardly where he ought to have been generous, and profuse where he ought to have been frugal.

But let us return to Henry VII. Arrived at Westminster, the King heard even-song, and, under a canopy of state, at the east end of the Hall, he was served "of the voyde"; which appears to have been a ceremony at which the King partook of spice and wine in great state. After this, the King bathed, and was then allowed to rest. No bath seems to have been provided for the Queen. This rest is only relative; for, as soon as he emerges from the bath, the Dean, or, in earlier times, the Abbot, of Westminster appears, and the King is instructed in the part he is to play in the ceremony on the morrow.

At the upper end of Westminster Hall a marble seat has been prepared, twelve feet long and three feet wide. Upon this the Kings were lifted, "*elevatur*," as it was called, and for that reason it was named the "King's Bench," and sometimes the "Marble Chair." The ceremony, doubtless, dates back to very early days; possibly, to the old Teutonic custom of raising the King on a shield. The King does not seem to have done much, when installed on his marble perch. The chronicler of Henry VII informs us, in archaic spelling and confused English, that, after Henry arrives there he "shall sitt vnder cloth of estate in the marble chair apparrelled with clothes and quissions of cloth of gold bawdekin, as it apperteyneth." On the coronation morn the King waited here for the procession of the bishops, and the abbot, with the convent of Westminster, bearing the Regalia; of which the monks had charge till the reign of Charles II, when they were removed to the Tower, and much of them very nearly stolen by the notorious Colonel Blood.

Let us peep into the Abbey a moment before the King gets there. At the crossing of the transepts and the choir has been erected a platform. Steps lead up to it from all four sides. Upon it, facing the altar, is a richly decorated chair; this is the

throne, but not St. Edward's. If a Queen Consort is to be crowned at the same time, a slightly lower throne is prepared for her.

At the coronation of Edward VI, February 20th, 1547, the first Protestant service, the platform was so high, that a stairway of twenty-two steps was required to reach the top, and seven more for the wee, little, ten-year-old King to get to his throne. By a curious exception, at this coronation, the "Lords in order kneeled down and kissed his Grace's right *foot*." (Jones, p. 223.) At George IV's coronation there were ten steps to the "theatre," as it is there called, and three more to the throne. In front of George was a large, blue-covered table with an assortment of regalia upon it, while a massive crimson baldachino loomed over his head. As galleries were erected around the choir, and were packed by holders of tickets for reserved seats, "theatre" seems an appropriate word.

In front of the platform, or "*stàge*," as it is generally called,—that is, between it and the altar,—is what is termed at a coronation, "*the area*." Here chairs of state are placed for the King and Queen. Between these and the altar stands the well-known St. Edward's Chair. In, or by, this chair the anointing takes place, and the regalia are here received. On the south side of the area is a "*faldstool*" for the King, and, if necessary, one for the Queen on the north side. *Faldstool* is from the Old High German *faldan*, to fold, and *stual*, a stool (Skeat). Along the walls of the area are seats for the bishops and other clergy, and near the altar is one for the Primate. I fear "*faldstool*" is but the survival of a name, for it looks like a very much be-cushioned "*priedieu*."

On the morning of the coronation, the King bathed and heard mass. He was then clothed by the Lord Great Chamberlain in a shirt of white silk and a close-fitting cloak of red sarcenet. These shirts, were, until, say, 1400, not made with openings for anointing, but were torn open by the Archbishop. The King wore, in addition, a pair of silk breeches and stockings, and over all a red parliament-robe of silk and ermine, which reached down to the feet. In the earlier coronations the King was unshod, and, later, only lightly shod. The inconvenience of this was considerably reduced by the *ray-cloth*;—*ray* formerly meant striped, but in this case evidently does not. It is dark blue, almost purple, and seems, from the official pictures, to be laid

upon a foundation of matting, which projects on either side, forming an effective border; the Lord High Almoner for the day lays it down along the whole route of the procession, from the marble chair to the stage in the Abbey. After the ceremony, the sacristan of Westminster seizes all of the ray-cloth *inside* the church, while the poor get all that is *outside*; quite a characteristic example of ecclesiastical charity. This gives rise sometimes to disorder, though not so bad as in Frankfort-on-Main market-place, where, in the eagerness of the people to cut off a piece of a similar cloth, the very spurs were hacked off the German Emperor's heels.

We may possibly have time to glance at a few of the salient points of the ceremonies on the Coronation Day, taking the account of the processions and feast from that of George IV, the last, and the church service from Victoria's.

July 19th, 1821, is ushered in by firing of artillery, ringing of bells, and other noises. At *two in the morning*, the vicinity of the Abbey was thronged. At *three*, the raised platform for the royal procession was thrown open to public view. This platform is about 18 inches above the pavement. It is covered by a roof and twists about so as to render the short distance a long walk. It is, of course, hedged in with troops. Parties of invited guests now began to arrive in Westminster Hall; the ladies in gorgeous costumes, wearing large plumes of ostrich feathers and all the diamonds they owned, and even more. At *six A. M.*, the Royal Family arrived, and by eight A. M., all were in their places.

At two minutes after ten, that is, *seven hours* after his earliest guests, the King appeared. He had passed the night in the Speaker's house, nearby, and, no doubt, all those half-dead-with-fatigue on-lookers, felt loyally relieved that the noble, and soon to be sacred, husband of Mrs. Fitzherbert, looked as dully placid as was his wont. His Majesty, after seating himself, "graciously bowed" to the Royal Family, and then to the Foreign Representatives, while the band played the national air.

The procession: just the list of great and small, each bearing a something, a coronet or nothing, occupies 12 pages of the Coronation Records! The principal attraction is the regalia. The Dean of Westminster carries the official, or St. Edward's, crown, then come six prebendaries with other articles; these are delivered to eager Dukes and Bishops. A gun is fired, and

the march begins, the many choirs singing the anthem, "O Lord, grant the King a long life." Then comes the King's Herb Woman, Miss Fellowes, with her six white-clad maids, looking like Graces considerably out of fashion (for Graces), two and two, strewing the way with herbs. The "herbs" are flowers; but as the way is long, and there is no reserve ammunition, the herbs are frugally scattered.

On the third page come the Standards: Hanover, Ireland, Scotland, England (St. George's), the Union Standard, the Royal Standard; about these are many heralds and kings-of-arms, all wearing the mysterious "S. S." collar, the meaning of which no one knows.

On the tenth page, in German text letters, comes *the King*, in his royal robes, wearing a cap-of-estate adorned with jewels, and a perfect explosion of white plumes, under a canopy of cloth of gold, supported by sixteen barons of the Cinque Ports. His Majesty's train is borne by eight eldest sons of peers. George's train was so very long, and so massive, that, if the eight eldest sons of peers had conspired together, risked high-treason, and dropped George's train, his majesty would have been securely anchored.

At the bottom of the eleventh page is His Majesty's Apothecary and his Surgeon; and at the bottom of the next page—*the end*. The service which follows is, as explained, that of Victoria; but it differs little from that of William and Mary, in 1688.

The Queen, as she enters the west door, is received with an anthem. She slowly moves up the body of the church and up the stairs, on to the stage, passing by her throne; she makes her humble adoration at the Faldstool, and then seats herself in her chair, not on the throne;—there she reposes herself.

Then follows the Recognition, the survival of the election of early days. The Archbishop, together with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Great Chamberlain, Lord High Constable, and Earl Marshal,—Garter King-of-Arms preceding them,—goes first East, then South, then West, then North, the Queen in the meantime standing. At each side the Archbishop cries: "Sirs, I here present unto you Queen Victoria, the undoubted Queen of this realm; wherefore all you who are come this day to do your homage, are you willing to do the same?" In response the people cry, "God save Queen Victoria."

Then the trumpets sound. Following this, is the first oblation with, of course, many attendant ceremonies. It consists of

an altar-cloth of gold, and an ingot of gold weighing one pound: to the Dean and Chapter, of course. Then follows the Litany, Prayers, Collect, Epistle, Gospel, Creed, Sermon. Then the Oath, in which the Queen promises to govern according to the statutes of Parliament and the laws and customs. To cause Law and Justice in mercy to be executed in her judgments. To maintain the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion. To maintain the settlement of the United Church in England and Ireland and the Territories thereunto belonging. Then the Queen kisseth the Book and signeth the Oath. The Oath is written on vellum and attached to the Coronation Roll. This Roll is prepared by the clerk of the Crown, and on it are recorded the particulars of the ceremony with the names of those who did homage. The Roll is then deposited among the records of the Court of Chancery. (Jones, p. 283.)

Then follows the anointing. The Queen having returned to her Faldstool, the Archbishop beginneth the hymn, "Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire," and the choir singeth it out. Then a prayer, during which the Archbishop lays his hand on the Ampulla.

Then the anthem, the self-same anthem that has been sung for more than *one thousand years*, over every King of part of Britain or of Great Britain: "Zadok the Priest and Nathan the Prophet, anointed Solomon King; and the people rejoiced, and said: God save the King, Long live the King, May the King live forever. Amen. Hallelujah." (I Kings 1:39, 40.)

At the beginning of this anthem, the Queen goes before the altar, attended by her supporters and assisted by the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Sword of State being carried before her. At the altar the Queen is disrobed of her crimson robes.

The Queen then sits in King Edward's Chair. Four Knights of the Garter hold over her a rich pall of silk or cloth of gold. The anthem concluded, the Dean of Westminster takes the ampulla and spoon off the altar, pours some of the holy oil into the spoon, and with it the Archbishop anoints the Queen in the form of a cross on the palm of her hands, and on the crown of her head. For a King, he would anoint on the breast, on both shoulders, the elbows, and head.

After a prayer of blessing, the spurs are brought from the altar by the Dean of Westminster and delivered to the Lord

Great Chamberlain; he, kneeling down, presents them to the Queen, who sends them back to the altar. A somewhat similar form is gone through with with the sword of state, which must be paid for before it is removed from the altar. This is the same ceremony as in a vigil-of-arms.

The Queen now receives the Imperial Mantle, or the Dalmatic Robe. She then sits down, and the Dean takes from the altar the Orb. The Archbishop receives this, and places it in the Queen's *right* hand, making a few appropriate remarks. The Queen then gives the Orb back to the Dean, who replaces it on the altar.

The Ring is then put upon the fourth finger of the Queen's right hand.

The Sceptre and the "Rod," as the Sceptre with the Dove is termed, are then brought by the Dean to the Archbishop. Here the Lord of the Manor of Worksop presents the Queen with a pair of rich gloves, as he holds his estate by this service. The Queen puts on the gloves, and receives the Sceptre in her right hand and the "Rod" in her left. Then comes the culminating act, but not the end of this long, long service. The Archbishop takes the Crown from the ever-ready Dean, and, assisted by the other archbishops and bishops, reverently places it on the Queen's bowed head; at this sight the people shout, "God save the Queen!" the trumpets sound, and the great guns of the Tower are shot-off." As soon as the Queen is crowned, the Peers and others put on their Coronets and Caps.

Let me stop one moment to correct a popular error, which is that the coronets are magnificently jeweled. The orders are of the strictest. The coronets of all peers and peeresses are to be, not of gold, but of *silver-gilt*, and no jewels or precious stones are to be set or used in the coronets, nor are counterfeit pearls to be used, instead of silver balls, in a baron's or marquess's. In most cases, even of peers carrying the regalia, the coronet is carried by the owner; but where both hands are occupied, as in bearing the standard, a page follows with the coronet.

Then follows an anthem; the presenting of the Holy Bible; the Benediction; the Te Deum; the enthroning; after which all do homage; and last, the Communion service.

Queen Victoria had now earned some well-merited repose, as the ceremonial was over for her; so, to finish the concluding chapter, we must return to Mrs. Fitzherbert's husband, better

known as George IV. The march back to Westminster Hall as it appears in the coronation record, is stateliness itself. It is better, therefore, to say nothing of how the tired, hungry aldermen made a rush for the Hall, stormed a tempting table, so that force was required to induce them to leave; though, doubtless, ere they did so, they had a fair portion, at least, of their perquisites. His Majesty takes a little rest, and the Barons of the Cinque Ports carry off their canopy or *panorium*, as it is technically called, their share of the loot.

The banquet made ready, the King enters, almost a real King, Crown on his head, Sceptre, and Orb, bishops to support him, eldest sons of peers to bear his train; the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain and the swords in front. The King seats himself amid a flourish of trumpets, and the first course begins. Six attendants of the Clerk Comptroller, two clerks of the Kitchen, the Clerk Comptroller, three clerks of the Board of Green Cloth, the Secretary of the Board of Green Cloth, the Master of His Majesty's Household, the Comptroller, the Treasurer of the same, four Serjeants-at-Arms, then, side by side, on *horseback*, the Earl Marshal of England, the Lord High Steward, the Lord High Constable (this was the Duke of Wellington), all three with their Coronets on their heads and their Staffs of office in their hands. Following these, came four Serjeants-at-Arms with maces, then twenty Gentleman-pensioners, each bearing a gold covered dish. On reaching the platform the pensioners gave their dishes to the clerks of the kitchen; these mount the thirteen steps and place the dishes on the table. The procession then moved off backward. Circuses in those days not having reached their present eminence, this first act was greeted by King and people with rapturous applause.

At this point a good deal of time was wasted while the King got rid of his Sceptre and Orb and washed his hands;—the Crown he continued to wear all through this uncomfortable meal, the Princes and Peers keeping on their coronets as in duty bound. The hand-washing finished, the Lord of the Manor of Addington presented the historic but unsavory mess of *Dillegrout*. This dish is said to have been invented by the cook of William the Conqueror, which culinary genius held the Manor on the same tenure. Those who have seen *Dillegrout* say that it "looks" like gruel flavored with *dill*, a soothing herb; they think the "mess" might be good for teething infants, could they be induced

to eat of it. The Sovereign accepts it with gratitude, but unselfishly passes it on.

Next, the Lord of the Manor of Great Wymondley, in Hertfordshire, having received from the King's Jewel House a silver-gilt cup, fills the same with the King's wine, gives the King a taste, and then,—no doubt, to the surprise of His Majesty,—vanishes—*with* the cup. The Duke of Argyle does the same trick, but does it better, for his cup is of pure gold.

Scene II: Henry Dymoke, Esq., in the great and original Champion act. What follows is quoted from the coronation account by Sir George Naylor. The first course having been removed, a cheerful flourish of trumpets calls attention to the bottom of the Hall. The gates were thrown open, and the King's Champion, on horseback, in a full suit of polished armor and luxurious plumes of ostrich feathers, appeared under the porch of the triumphal arch, between the Duke of Wellington and the Earl Marshal, also on horseback; when his procession advanced in the following manner:

Two Trumpeters. Two Serjeants-at-Arms with their maces on their shoulders. The *Champion's two esquires in half armour*; one, on the right bearing the Champion's lance, he on the left bearing the Champion's target with the Dymoke arms emblazoned thereon. Then Lancaster Herald, with a paper containing the challenge. Then the Champion. On his right, the Duke of Wellington, with coronet and staff of office. One cannot help wondering how that grim old eagle-beaked warrior enjoyed this sort of mummery. On the left, the acting Earl Marshal. Behind them, four richly dressed pages.

At the entrance to the Hall the trumpets sounded thrice, and the passage to the King's table being cleared, Lancaster Herald proclaimed the challenge (*Pickwick* had not then been written): "If any person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay our Sovereign Lord George the Fourth of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Son and Heir to our Sovereign Lord King George the Third, the last King, deceased, to be the right heir to the Imperial Crown of this United Kingdom, or that he ought not to enjoy the same, here is his Champion, who saith that he lieth, and is a false traitor; being ready in person to combat with him, and in this quarrel will adventure his life against him on what day soever he shall appoint."

This daring hero is a little ambiguous at the end; but, as everyone understands that all this is in fun, it does not much matter. Then the heroic Champion throws down his gauntlet. After it has lain the correct time, Lancaster Herald hands it back to him. All advance to the middle of the hall, and the doughty Dymoke defies the world again—with the same result. Lastly, at the foot of the throne, the same bold deed, the same result. There is immense applause at each performance. After the last, the King takes a silver-gilt cup, *with* a cover,—be sure of the cover,—fills it with wine, drinks the Champion's health, and hands him the cup. The gallant Champion finishes the wine, to the toast, "Long live His Majesty King George the Fourth!" He then, inadvertently, no doubt, pockets the cup, with the cover; and the procession backs out, amid more rapturous applause.

The Heralds are now given a chance. Garter, attended by the other kings and officers-of-arms, proclaims His Majesty's "styles," that is, the various titles he has a right to. For his coming Majesty these will be:—

"Serenissimi, potentissimi, et excellentissimi Monarchæ* Edwardus septimus, Dei Gratia Britanniarum et terrarum transmarinarum quæ in ditione sunt Britannica Rex, Fidei Defensor, Indiæ Imperator. Largesse!"

"Du très-haut, très-puissant, et très-excellent Monarque Edouard Sept, par la Grace de Dieu," etc. "Largesse!"

"Of the most high, most mighty, and most excellent monarch, Edward VII, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith." "Largesse!"

This proclamation is cried first from the platform on which the King is seated. Then an obeisance. Then a walk backwards to the middle of the Hall. A repetition of the proclamation and obeisance. Another backward walk to the bottom of the Hall, and a third repetition. After this, the Heralds go to dinner. The word "largesse" does not form part of the King's title, as some might suppose, but is an heraldic way of suggesting to the world that the Heralds are not doing this vitally important

*The styles are as copied by the author from a Royal Proclamation.—*Pub. Com.*

service to mankind from philanthropic motives only. The second course was then served up with the same ceremony as the first.

Now the peers rose and drank with three times three, "Good health and a long and happy reign to His Majesty." To which the Duke of Norfolk was ordered by the King to reply: "The King thanks his Peers for drinking his health, and does them the honor to drink their health and that of his good people." Happy peers! Happy people! The King bows. There is much loyal shouting and weeping with joy at this never-to-be-forgotten honor. The overflowing loyalty is somewhat relieved when the united choirs sing "God Save the King," followed by "Non Nobis, Domine." It then being 8 P. M., His Majesty was pleased to retire.

A predecessor of Mrs. Fitzherbert's husband, Henry V. crushed and annihilated a triple strong French army on the field of Agincourt, soon after reducing France to a mere English province. When Henry heard from the heralds the frightful loss of the French, the almost no loss of the English, he uplifted that handsome young face of his, the battle flush still upon it, and with overflowing heart said: "Non Nobis, Domine." It was said for Mrs. Fitzherbert's husband as above, and all that was greatest in England loyally rejoiced,—some of them had entered the Hall at 3 A. M., and it was then 8 in the evening. Could contrast be greater? Yet one cannot but feel a certain doubt as to whether Agincourt or this coronation was the greater proof of loyalty.

DISCUSSION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF 1899-1901.

BY EDWARD GILBERTSON, OF ILFRACOMBE, ENGLAND.

*(Read to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia,
October 2d, 1902.)*

(EXTRACTS FROM A PRIVATE LETTER.)

ILFRACOMBE, August 7th, 1902.

I quite agree with you as to the papers by Mr. Bates and Mr. Davids, and regret infinitely the impossibility of reading them for myself. Mr. Bates's paper offers much food for reflection, and Mr. Davids's is highly interesting. It is on a subject I have never seen treated separately, and contains several things new to me. It must have cost him some trouble to put together; for I once began gathering the dates on Greek coins, but soon gave it up, finding that it involved immense labor.

Mr. Dana, no doubt, came across some matters connected with the Great Seal of England which must have rather staggered him as a republican, but we English are a very conservative race, clinging to old customs and traditions and usages with a tenacity often worthy of a better cause; for at times they are not only obsolete and meaningless, but absolute hindrances to business. In the thirties I knew the gentleman who held the office of "Chauffe-Wax" under the then Lord Chancellor, and could never quite satisfy myself whether he considered the Great Seal or the office of Chancellor the more important item of the British Constitution. Certain it is that he regarded the implement with the most profound respect, never presuming to wear his hat in its presence. I verily believe that were our most eminent judge to deliver a judgment divested of his wig and robes, the public in general would not attach the same weight to it as a legal precedent that they do to his other dicta. The very criers of the courts of law, in opening the court or issuing notices, preface their discourse with "O yes, O yes, O yes!" their Norman French for "Oyez, oyez, oyez!" "Hear!"

But the exchequer chamber far outshines the Great Seal. It

has a table divided into squares, whence its name, in which are placed counters, representing coins, by means of which certain revenues of the Crown are paid, according to an obsolete arithmetic, intelligible only to the initiated. They used, and, for aught I know, use to this day, tallies, two pieces of wood placed side by side and notched in a peculiar fashion, one delivered to the payer, the other to the recipient, of moneys, as vouchers. It was the burning of waste tallies which burned down the Houses of Parliament and, incidentally, restored to us Whitehall (up to that time merely a dingy vestibule of the dingier courts of justice), and which caused the restoration of St. Stephen's Chapel, our old House of Commons.

But I suspect that, to the general reader, the most popular paper will be Mr. Dana's on "Literary Forgeries"; it gives an account of the most celebrated of the modern forgeries. I was greatly interested in three of them, having been able to follow them closely when they were discovered.

Simonides was a very remarkable man, possessing a singular amount of unusual knowledge concerning Greek and Latin manuscripts, chiefly acquired in the monasteries of Mount Athos. He might have taken a good position among the literati of Europe, but preferred forgery. His forgery of Uranios was a most remarkable production. Mr. Dana does not seem to be aware that it was rejected by the British Museum before it was sent to Berlin, the doubts of the Secretary as to its authenticity being probably excited by the very circumstance that recommended it to Lepsius, namely, its agreement with his own conclusions with respect to early Egyptian history.

Lucas's forgeries positively astounded me, for Michel Chasles was undoubtedly a man of great erudition. The first forgery of the Pascal letters to Sir I. Newton, describing the attraction of gravitation, ought to have created suspicion in the minds of Chasles and his co-academicians, from the relative ages of the two correspondents at the time, and Pascal's silence on the subject to the world in general. But the astonishment of those in court at Lucas's trial was great as the bare-faced and audacious forgeries were produced, one after the other, and Chasles's credulity exhibited. It is curious, but it was never known what Lucas did with the large sums of which he defrauded Chasles; for the man seemed always to be hard up, and with no sufficient reason.

The Shapira forgery interested me chiefly on account of the very clever philological process that led to its discovery. The manuscripts were written on sheepskin—not parchment, as stated by Mr. Dana—which was evidently the blank margin of ancient scrolls of the law, a circumstance which at once excited my suspicions as to their authenticity, as well as that of Sir E. Thompson, then Keeper of the Manuscripts. But as I had no knowledge of Hebrew or of Hebrew manuscripts, my opinion was of no value. But Dr. Ginsberg, of the British Museum, after a careful study of forty-eight hours, pronounced the writings to be the work of at least two learned Jewish scholars of two different nationalities; and his proofs were conclusive. He possesses a singularly complete knowledge of all the dialects of Hebrew spoken and employed in the various countries and of their history. He, by this means, detected various locutions of comparatively modern origin, used only in two countries in the world, and also forms of characters of comparatively recent origin. The bubble was pricked, and the writings became at once valueless. The Shapiras were two brothers, dealing in antiquities at Jerusalem, and the one who brought over the manuscript committed suicide after the discovery of the forgery, chiefly, it was supposed, in consequence, for it had cost them much labor and money to perpetrate it. Mr. Dana seems to cast some doubt on the suicide, but it is a fact.

As to the anecdote about “Bill Stumps, his mark,” which appears in Dickens’s *Pickwick Papers*, Mr. Hogarth, Dickens’s father-in-law, told me that the joke was Dickens’s own invention, but based upon two stories he himself told to Dickens. One was of a stone that had served for a year as a doorstep to a cottage near Canterbury, and was found to bear an inscription on the under side, read by the local antiquarian society as the tombstone of King Arthur, but it proved to be an old landmark, with some such legend as “J. Smart, his land.” The other concerned the antiquaries of Paris in the days of Louis Philippe. An inscribed stone was found on the roadside at Montmartre, bearing what was read as a Gallo-Roman inscription, and translated accordingly, but turned out to be simply, “Le chemin des ânes,” executed by an illiterate miller of the vicinity.

I was somewhat surprised, seeing for what Society the paper was written, to find no reference to the famous numismatic forgeries, some of which, I fancy, are still subjects of dispute.

There are the clever soldering together of the obverse of one genuine ancient coin and the reverse of another of the same period; the clever forgeries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the ancient forgeries of the Roman Provincial *Monetarii*, of which I possess three, and which always puzzle me to understand how it could be worth their while to make copper *denarii* and plate them with silver.

But one of Mr. Dana's narratives creates great doubts in my mind, and I fancy he must have been deceived by some literary hoax, the product of a purveyor of "faits divers" for the Paris newspapers—that of the Egyptian colossus. In the first place, I know of no Angers slate which could for a moment be mistaken for black basalt by the very greenest of Egyptologists, and I have visited the quarries. Second, to produce a colossus which should be "the find of the nineteenth century" in the face of the wooden Sheikh-el-Beled, now in the Boulak Museum, would tax the powers of a clever sculptor. Such a statue would require much time and labor to execute, and its preparation in the workshops of any sculptor would infallibly leak out. The providing it with a hieroglyphic inscription could not be done by any ordinary dealer,—to copy an existing one would be to invite detection,—it must be the work of an expert Egyptologist. To give plausibility to the story, the colossus must be conveyed to the Lyons station at Marseilles for transmission to Paris, a circumstance sure to attract attention, for one does not handle a colossus at a railway station as one does a hat box, and the same notoriety would attend its journey from the Gare de Lyon, at Paris, to the dupe's house, and its arrival could hardly be sprung on the archæologists. There were not many of them, and I never heard of the adventure; but am very sure that some of them would have been delighted to have such a big stone to throw into their neighbor's garden. And it must have been a celebrated personage, for private collections of Greek and Roman antiquities are somewhat rare in Paris. The whole story smells too strongly to me of the French penny-a-liner to be true, and I fear Mr. Dana has been misled, especially as he can find the name neither of the dupe nor of the dealer.

THE AGE OF OLD WATCHES AS SHOWN BY THEIR CONSTRUCTION.

BY RICHARD WISTAR DAVIDS.

(Read to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, January 8th, 1903.)

Clocks—that is, a combination of a weight for going-power, wheel-work for transmission, and a regulator, more or less crude,—date from the early part of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, according to different writers. Such time-measurers, though they may have been fairly accurate while stationary, could not have been at all portable; but pocket clocks, as watches were first named, were made possible only by the invention of the coiled spring as a going-power. The date is about 1500, but whether in the decade before or after is uncertain. As much of doubt may be said for the place, also; the ancient German city of Nuremberg, famous for its artisans, has claimed the honor; Blois has appropriated the invention; even China is said to have introduced it into Germany, and so to France and England.

Wood says that Peter Hele, a clever mechanician of Nuremberg, who died 1540, so early as 1490 made watches of steel which moved without weights, pointed out and struck the hours, and might be worn on the person. The first constructed watches were large, and fully warranted their name of pocket clocks; but after Jacob Zech, of Prague, had, early in the sixteenth century, invented the fusee, to obviate the irregularity arising from the varying power of the mainspring, watches were soon made of much smaller and more portable form.

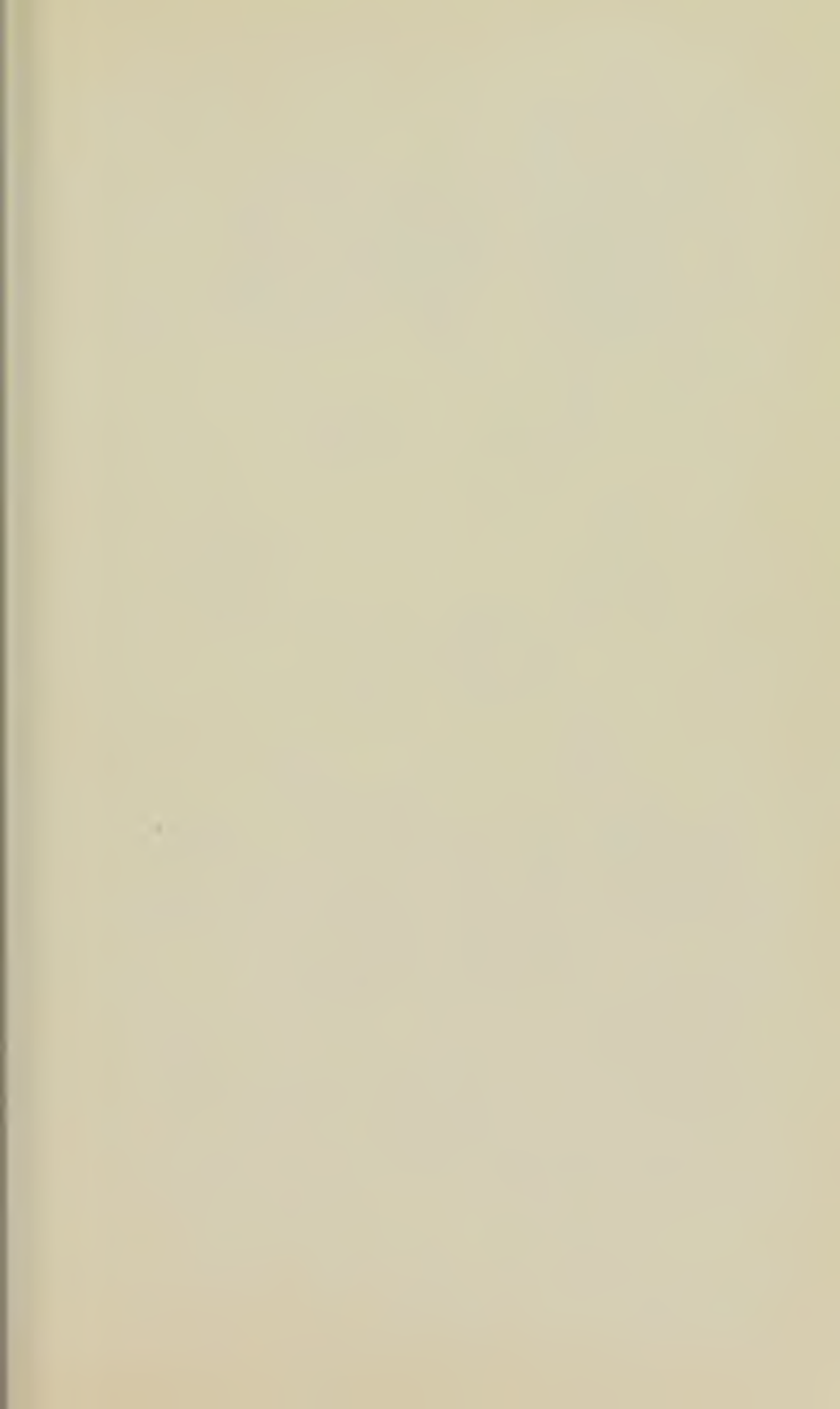
Britten says watches of the sixteenth century are exceedingly rare. Many specimens put forward as such are found on examination to be of later date. There is no doubt that the manufacture of portable time-pieces extended to Holland and France before the end of the century, but very few examples of that period survive. A genuine specimen would have no covering glass over the dial, and if a fusee were present, the connection between it and the barrel would be by a piece of catgut, and

not by a chain. There would be, of course, no controlling-spring to the balance at that period, and the balance-cock, instead of being spread over the whole extent of the wheel, would be narrow. The workmanship of the movement would be comparatively rough, however lavishly the case might be ornamented. During the first quarter of the century, the frames and wheels were of iron or steel. Productions of the second quarter, having brass plates and pillars, are occasionally to be found, but brass wheels before 1550 are quite exceptional. Screws seem to have been introduced to join pieces of metal in German time-keepers about that time; so that in the early sixteenth century watches these convenient fastenings would be absent, and the various junctions made by riveting, or the use of either pins or cotters. Screws are not met with in English work until quite late in the century, and are absent even in many of the watches of the next hundred years. There were rarely any winding holes in the cases of early watches. To attach the key to the winding squares, the case had to be opened, and, usually, the movement turned out of the case, a cover at the back being the alternative.

Nelthropp says a statement has appeared in various books on clockwork, though on very questionable authority, that watches were made late in the fifteenth century; but that, had such been the case, there is every reason to believe some inventory would have given a description of a watch, on account of its value. There is no mention of any clock as not having weights in that century. The same writer also says that the mainspring was not at first enclosed in a barrel, that an early watch had no fusee, and that the circular balance must have been introduced, at the latest, in 1530.

Abbott claims that the first watches were round, and that it was not until about 1550 that the oval form was used; also, that some twenty-five years later was first applied the mechanism for taking up the mainspring. He further says that, although the fusee chain was invented about 1590, it did not come into general use until about 1600. Other writers differ materially in this, and give the year 1664 for the invention of that delicate piece of workmanship.

All these points may seem too technical, but they are our only indications of age in old watches where a maker's name is wanting or unknown.





Old Watches from the Author's Collection. 1-8, two "Nuremberg Eggs." 9, 10, by Clark, of London. 11, 12, Cabrier, of London. 13, 14, by Clowes, of London. 15, by Brown, of London.

The oldest watch (Figs. 1-3) which I have the pleasure of showing you is one without name or date, but, from what has been already said, seems to belong to the sixteenth century; how early, it is hard to say. Points worthy of notice are: that it is oval; the cover and works are hinged on the deep case; there is a catgut connection between the fusee and the barrel; there is but one hand, and that of iron; the face is rather well chased, but that is nearly all the ornamentation; the thickness of the movement, which is almost entirely of brass, is due, probably, as much to placing the scape-wheel at right angles with the others as to the height of the fusee; there is one screw, but it is believed to be of much later date than the watch, probably having been used in making repairs; the otherwise general use of riveting and fastening by means of pins seems to indicate a date not much later than 1550, while the mainspring adjustment points to a quarter-century later, at least. There is also an attachment to prevent overwinding. This feature does not seem to be touched by any of the writers on watches, and does not, therefore, indicate its age. The mechanism for holding the movement to the dial is much more elaborate than one would think necessary. This watch is in running order, but its time-keeping qualities are not vouched for.

The next watch (Figs 4-7) is of about the same date, as far as can be said from its parts, but is of finer workmanship. Its outer case (Fig 8) is not believed to be a pair case in its technical sense. This watch differs from the former by having the works held by springs in the body of the case. This has two hinged covers finely chased, as is also a band of darker metal around the body. There is on the back plate "Isaac Jemin"; below is probably the name of the place where made, but it cannot be identified,—it looks like A Diton, or possibly A Dijon. A hole that is in the case opposite the pendant, at one time, no doubt, held an ornament similar to that on watches figured by Abbott. This watch lacks a number of parts. These two watches were purchased in 1847, in Berlin and in Basel.

Returning to chronology, early in the seventeenth century round watches came into fashion, and the use of flat watch glasses began. They were to protect the dial, and took the place of a metal cover. Later, the glasses were almost spherical, and, still later, were ground with a flat surface in the center, and known as bulls'-eyes.

About the middle of the seventeenth century came the invention of the balance spring. Kendal says, up to this time the verge escapement was the only one available; and without a spring to regulate it, the motion of the balance was very irregular. But as the only index of the time was one hand, showing hours, small variations remained unnoticed.

This period also sees the introduction of the nearly hemispherical pair-cases. They were unpleasantly suggestive of a turnip, and doubtless, the shape gave rise to that name for a watch. They were separate cases, the flat side open and without glass; used either to protect the delicate workmanship on the inner case, or, possibly, make it somewhat more dust-proof. It was customary to insert in the pair-cases circular pieces of velvet, or other material, adorned with fancy needlework; or "watch-papers," bearing printed advertisements of the maker, or, occasionally, verses, admonitory or sentimental.

Most writers claim the fusee chain was first used a little later (1664), and before the end of the century the minute-hand concentric with the hour-hand had been introduced; and with the dawn of the eighteenth century, jewels appeared. A watch (Figs. 9, 10) of the first half of that century shows many of the improvements of the preceding hundred years. There is the almost hemispherical gilded case with covered winding hole in the back. The movement and glass front are hinged to this, and all is enclosed in a pair case. It is by Stanford Clarke, of London. It has a fusee chain, and a balance spring with regulator, and is put together partly with screws; though the older pin still survives. It had two hands, with key-set.

Two watches (Figs. 11-12, 15) in silver cases are similar: one has an enameled dial and a dust cap, in addition to the pair-case, and the cock is of silver or similar metal; it is by H. Brown, of London. The other is without a pair-case, but has a covered winding hole in the back, and is by Cabrier, of London.

The eighteenth century saw many improvements, mainly in the matter of escapements and finer workmanship. They are almost too technical for discussion here; and as watches of this time are generally marked with the maker's name, their age can be quite well assigned.

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THE TOURNAMENT AND THE JOUST.

BY CORNELIUS STEVENSON.

*(Read to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia,
March 5th, 1903.)*

THE TOURNAMENT.

The word Tournament is derived from the French word *tourner*, to turn, as the *tournoyeur* or *jouster* turned after each course, to repeat it; each contestant being entitled to three courses, if he was not worsted in the first or second. While both the tournament and the joust were exercises of personal strength and schools of military discipline, they were also amusements of the privileged orders of society.

It is not known when the tournament, in the true sense of the word, first originated; although we have evidence that it existed during the ninth century. Nithard, nephew of Charlemagne, who wrote in 844, speaks of a sham battle which was held at the interview between Louis of Germany and Charles the Bald, in which the nobles and retainers of each sovereign took part. And it is not improbable that the tournament of a later period had its origin from this incident. Geoffroy Sire de Preuilli, who died in 1066, was the first to formulate rules for these games; rules which were afterwards adopted in England and Germany. According to William of Newburgh, these military exercises were first introduced into England during the turbulent reign of Stephen (1135), but were discouraged to such an extent in the succeeding reign of Henry II, that the *tournoyeur* had to seek in other lands the opportunity to show his prowess and dexterity in his favorite sport. For he says: "The English youths who had not yet attained knighthood, and were therefore called *tirones* or pupils, wishing perchance, as they affected the glory of arms, to exercise themselves, crossed the channel, and joined in these exercises on the confines of the continent." The games were, however, re-established by Richard I, who encouraged their practice; as he saw in them the means of instructing the young nobility in the art of war and the use of the lance, the

sword, and the mace; and they continued to flourish from that time until the close of the sixteenth century, when they appear to have gone out of fashion on the continent, also.

From a primitive beginning, these military fêtes became the scenes of great display and luxury, and if we are to believe the accounts of Froissart, Monstrelet, Hollingshead, and other old chroniclers, nothing in modern times can at all compare with them in splendor and magnificence. Strict rules were enacted in the eleventh century to govern these sports. Before entering the lists, the weapons of the contestants were carefully examined and measured by the judges, and the contestants were required to swear that they came for the sole purpose of acquiring proficiency in the profession of arms, and not to gratify any private feud or quarrel; and each strange knight had also to satisfy the judges that he was a "gentleman of name and of arms," and had no secret weapons or unfair advantage. Notwithstanding this, however, these "combats of courtesy," as they were called, frequently degenerated into bloody fights, resulting in the death of many on both sides. In consequence, the Pope, at the Council of Lateran, in 1179, decreed that any one participating in these games should be excommunicated, and Christian burial was refused to those who should be killed; and at the council of Lyons, in 1245, Innocent IV prohibited tournaments from being held for three years, as they interfered with the crusades, and the money spent at them could be better employed against the infidel. But in spite of these bulls and ordinances the taste for these popular games continued to grow, until their final extinction at the end of the sixteenth century.

When a tournament was planned, it became the occasion of great pomp and ceremony, and valuable prizes were given to the successful contestants. The prizes were generally a sword, a helmet, or a piece of jewelry, but when the tournament was held by a wealthy nobleman it was customary to give prizes to all who participated.

Few detailed accounts of the mode of holding tournaments have come down to us. Viollet-le-Duc (Vol. 2, page 332), with his usual care and accuracy, has in his *Dictionnaire Raisonné du Mobilier Français* given us an insight into these curious pageants. He says, the lord (called the appellant) wishing to hold a tournament sent his king-at-arms, accompanied by a fitting retinue, with a sword to the person (called the defendant) whom he de-

sired to challenge. The king-at-arms, on arriving, presented the sword on bended knee to the defendant, surrounded by his nobility, saying: "Very high and puissant prince, my very high and puissant prince, your cousin, sends me to you, for the great chivalry and prowess which he knows is in your noble person, and with all love and kindness, and not with any evil intent, requests you to hold a tournament and passage-at-arms before the ladies; for which, and in proof whereof, he sends you this sword, which it is fitting he should do." The defendant then took the sword from the king-at-arms, and said: "I do not accept this for any evil intent, but to give pleasure to my cousin and diversion to the ladies." Four judges, after much ceremony, were then selected by each party, and fixed the time and place for holding the tournament. The king-at-arms, accompanied by heralds and pursuivants, then went to the courts of the lord appellant and lord defendant, and cried the tournament, that on a certain day and at a certain place a grand passage-at-arms and very noble tournament would be held according to ancient custom, and that those wishing to contest should carry small escutcheons quartered with the arms of the four judges, and that noble and rich prizes would be given by the ladies and damsels. And, further, that the contestants should be in readiness the fourth day before the tournament, and display their coat of arms at the windows of their lodgings, under pain of not being permitted to enter the tournament. He then showed a plan of the lists.

These lists were erected on a level plain, enclosed by a double row of railings or barriers, and between them were stationed valets and attendants to keep the crowd from entering the enclosure. On one side were erected stands, sometimes built tower-shape, for the judges and nobility, which were superbly decorated with tapestries and embroideries in gold and silver; and in the center two cords running parallel and attached at both ends were held by the judges. In the space between the cords the contestants ran their courses; the width was in proportion to the number taking part. Every one at these fêtes appeared to his best advantage: the knights in their steel panoply, accompanied by their esquires and pages in gorgeous array; the heralds in their tabards, and minstrels in glittering apparel; all combined to make a scene of rare magnificence and splendor, and can readily account for their popularity.

Four days after the arrangements for the tournament were

completed, the contestants entered the town, followed by as large a number of retainers as possible. The charger of the lord appellant, covered with trappings of some rich material, and having his arms emblazoned on it, with plumes on his head, a chaplet of bells encircling his neck, and a small page mounted on his back, headed the procession. Following him, came the horses of the contestants in double file; then the trumpeters, heralds, and pursuivants; and, finally, the contestants themselves, mounted and with their suite. After they had been lodged, the chiefs of the tournament hung their banners and pennons from their windows, and beneath, on a large panel, the arms of each were painted. On the evening of the arrival of the lord appellant, a grand ball was given, and in the midst, when the gaiety was at its height, a pursuivant appeared, and cried in a loud, clear voice: "Very high and puissant princes, dukes, counts, barons, lords, chevaliers, and esquires with arms belonging, I notify you on the part of my lords the said judges that each of you shall to-morrow at mid-day carry his helmet with which he will tilt, and his banners also, to the hotel of my lords the judges, at an hour after mid-day; and when my said lords the judges shall have departed, the ladies will come to see and visit you, to say their will and pleasure; and the next day, other things not interfering, the dances will be held after supper, as to-day." Two ladies chosen by the judges then selected one from among the challengers, who was called the "*chevalier d'honneur*," whose duty it was to carry a lance at the end of which was attached a long veil, embroidered and spangled with gold, called a "*couvre-chef de plaisance*," and who, at the request of the ladies, was to lower it over the crest of the successful contestant. Then the contest should cease.

The day before the tournament the banners and pennons of the several contestants were examined by the judges and the ladies, and the names of the owners given by a herald; and if one of the ladies touched a banner or pennon, that contestant was disqualified, if, after due inquiry, he was found guilty of the charge brought against him. Among the causes for disqualification may be mentioned a broken word, usury, and misalliance; and any one found guilty of slandering a lady was beaten until he cried "*Mercy!*"

On the day of the tournament, the heralds and pursuivants summoned the contestants to the lists by crying before their

lodgings: "To the honors, lords, chevaliers, and esquires! to the honors!" They then entered the lists mounted, but not armed, each accompanied by his standard bearer; and the herald of the judges required them to take an oath that they would not strike below the waist, use an *estoc*, or thrusting sword, or if the helmet of any one should become unlaced and fall off, that no one would touch him until it was replaced, under penalty of being banished from the lists. The judges then examined the ropes, to see if they were properly placed and ready to be cut. The chevalier d'honneur took his place between them, his helmet was lifted from his head, and the king-at-arms, taking it to the ladies, said: "My very redoubted and honored ladies and damsels, see this your humble servant and chevalier d'honneur who has gone to the lists to do what you have commanded him to do, and here is his crest, which you will guard under your 'chaffault,' if you please." The judges and the king-at-arms then stationed themselves at the stands, and the heralds were ordered to go to the pavilions, crying: "To achievement, knights and esquires, to achievement!" This was notice for them to arm. Ample time was given them for this purpose, and when all were ready, the trumpets sounded, and the contending parties took their places, facing each other, at the ends of the lists. The king-at-arms then cried three times: "Begin the contest when you will!" and at the same moment the ropes were cut, and the tilt began; while the standard bearers, valets, and retainers, calling the respective cries of their masters, were stationed near the two ends in order to drag them from the *mêlée*, if they were unhorsed, and to surround them while they remounted. When the judges considered that the tournament should end, they called to the heralds to order the banners folded, and announced that the prizes would be awarded that evening to those who deserved them. After this, the trumpets were sounded, the barriers opened, and the contestants left the lists and returned to their lodgings.

In the evening a grand entertainment was given, which was passed in dancing and singing, the knights who had taken part in the tournament being seated under silken banners embroidered with their arms. After supper, they called the heralds together and received from them the names of the most successful contestants, who were then presented to one of the ladies, selected for her beauty and grace, and called "La Reine de la Beauté et

des Amours," who delivered the prizes to the knights as an award for their skill, with a courteous speech, thanking them for the pleasure which they had given them, and concluding with the wish that each should have "much joy and worship with his lady." After this ceremony, dancing was resumed and the fête continued, the knights taking precedence according to their success in the tournament.

THE JOUST.

The joust differs from the tournament in the number of the contestants engaged. The joust was a single combat, while in a tournament several took part on each side. Instead of ropes, a smooth railing, or barrier, from four to five feet high and covered with linen, was erected, which prevented the horses from coming into collision. Each knight charged with the barrier on his left and his lance inclined on the left side of his horse's neck. Unless very skillful, he aimed to strike the upper part of his adversary's shield or body, as otherwise he was apt to pass without striking at all.

We have no definite account of the size of the lists. Viscount Dillon, in his paper on "Tilting in Tudor Times," read before the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, March 2d, 1898, says: "At the field of Cloth of Gold, according to the Sanuto Diaries, there was a large square, of greater length than width, enclosed by a ditch and dike, the entrances being to the front, with bars to correspond. On each of the sides within were stages for the spectators, and in the center was the tilt yard with its lists; and at the extremity toward the English Pale (that is, northward) two chambers were erected on each side, well and richly furnished, for the accommodation of the kings to arm and rest themselves. At the extremity beyond the ditch was another square on each side, where tents and pavilions were pitched for the service of the jousts, those of each nation having their own side. . . . At the end of the tilt yard, in the direction of the two houses (of the kings), was a tree like an elm, around which was a square mound made of timber covered with green damask. The trunk was clad in cloth of gold, as well as two branches, and on the bank were the rests for the heralds and for the shields and arms of the jousts. . . . At the English entrance were the French foot archers and at the French entrance the English, and mounted ones patrolled the environs to

prevent anyone crossing the ditch. The heralds brought the two shields of England and France, and preceded by thirty trumpeters and twenty-two heralds, carried them around the lists, and placed them on the trunk of the tree, the French on the right, the English on the left. Below these were three others, one striped longitudinally tawney and murrey, with a gilt inscription in French: 'For the courses to be run in the Tilt-yard'; the second, similarly striped yellow and white, with 'For tourney'; the third, all white, with 'For the battle on foot at the Bars.' Round the rails of the mounds were the badges and names of all who were to tilt."

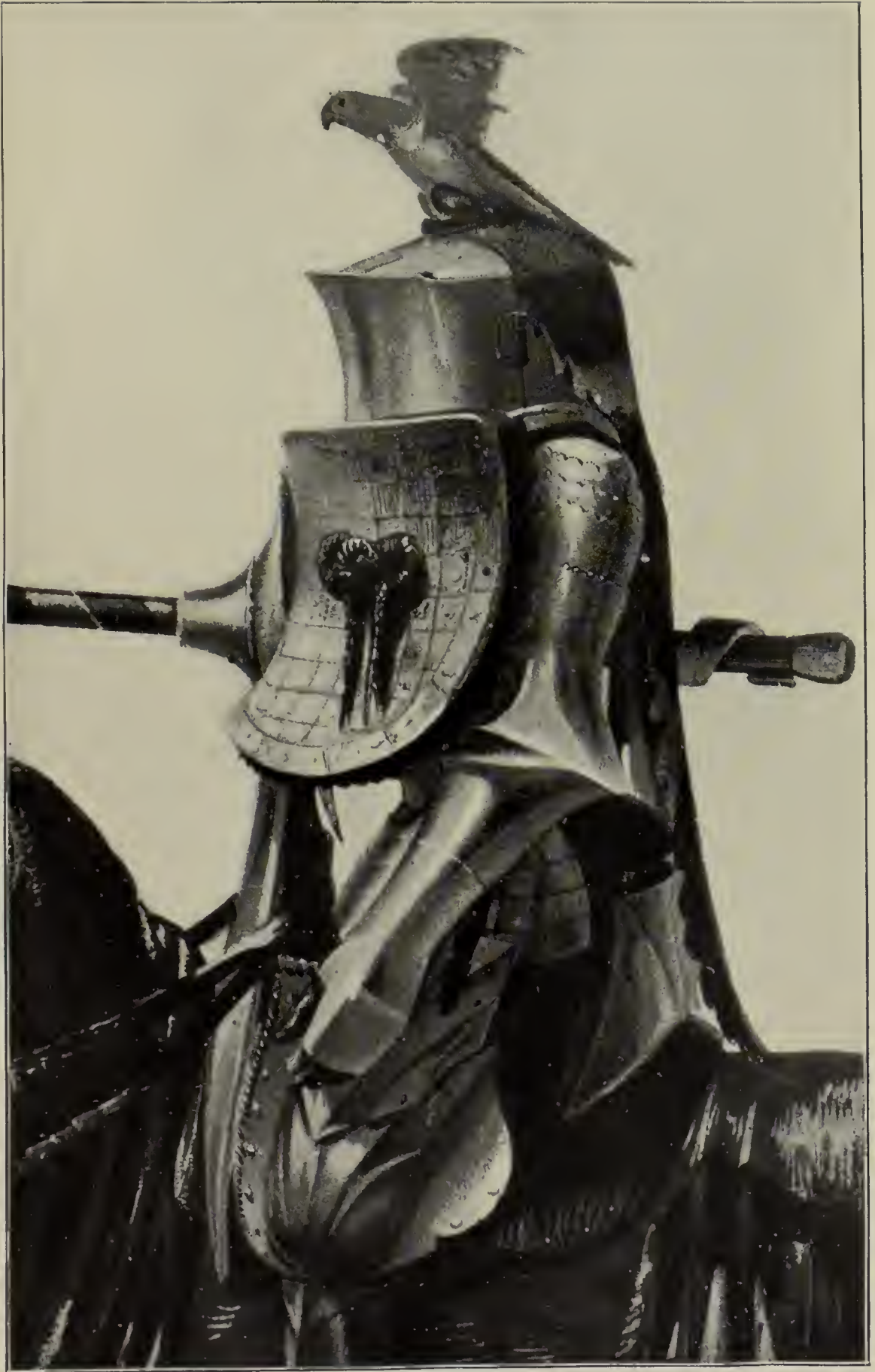
There were several kinds of jousts, but the two most popular and most generally known were the joust "à l'outrance," with sharp-pointed lances, and the joust "à plaisance," with the points rebated or blunted, called "rockets." Among others may be mentioned the joust "à la haute barde," called so because the barde or armor of the horse rose sufficiently high in front to protect the abdomen of the jouster; the "course à la bande," the eyes of the horse being hooded; the course "au bourrelet," from the knights' wearing wreaths of their ladies' colors on their heads; the joust "à la poële," as the jouster carried a sort of square shield in the shape of a grill, screwed to the breastplate and so arranged as to fly up in the air if hit in the right spot by the lance. There being no protection for the head in this kind of joust, it was considered too dangerous to be indulged in by any except the most skillful and experienced, and was, therefore, rare. Some idea can be had of the risk attending this style of joust, when we say that it was quite customary to place an open coffin in the lists at the moment they were ready to charge. In a series of jousts, the last course was called "la lance des dames," in honor of the female sex.

According to the rules of the tournament and the joust, it was necessary to strike between the "four quarters," as it was called; that is, on the head or body, and not the legs or arms. Another was, that when a lance was broken, the stump should be thrown out of the lists; and it was owing to this rule not being observed that the accident happened to Henry II of France when tilting with the Comte de Mongomeri. The splintered end of the Count's lance striking the King's helmet, entered its sight, causing the fatal wound. These rules were very strictly enforced. In the sixth year of Edward IV (1466) John Tiploft,

Earl of Worcester, by the King's command, drew up a set of rules to be observed, in which the prize should be awarded to the one who broke the greatest number of lances, hitting the helmet three times, meeting coronel to coronel (that is, lance point to lance point), or unhorsing. And anyone who should strike his adversary's horse, or his adversary with his back turned, or below the waist, or unhelm himself twice, unless his horse shied, should lose the prize. In breaking lances, the rules were: Striking the saddle and the charnell (the fastening of the helmet to the breastplate) counted one point; above the charnell, two points; unhorsing, or disarming so as to disable from running the next course, three points. But if a lance was broken on the saddle, he should lose one point; hitting the barrier once, two points; or twice, three points. Breaking a lance within a foot of the coronel is judged a good attempt. The one who sent horse and man to earth was adjudged better than the one who struck coronel to coronel; and the one who struck coronel to coronel twice was given preference over the one who struck the sight (that is, the perforation in the helmet through which the wearer looks); and he who struck the sight three times was preferred to him who broke most lances.

Appended to these rules was the following list of fees which were the perquisites of the king-at-arms. If any of the challengers or defenders fell to the ground, horse and all, the horse and all belonged to the king-at-arms. At all jousts with the lance or axe, the horse trappings, the coats-of-arms, and all broken lances, axes and swords belonged to him; and the king-at-arms and pursuivant who proclaimed the joust should have six ells of scarlet and all the banners and standards. Also, the jouster entering the lists the first time was required to pay six crowns of gold for marshaling his arms.

It is not worth while to give a detailed account of the equipment for the joust prior to the fourteenth century, as it differed very slightly from that used in war; but at the commencement of that century it was found that it did not meet the requirements of the joust, and a particular style of armor was adopted for the purpose. The head-piece, called the bascinet, was forged in three pieces: the crest, or dome (with its slit or sight); the ventaille, or chin protection; and garde-nuque, or neck-guard. The three pieces were strongly riveted together and fastened to the breast and backplate by straps. The ventaille was also strapped on



The Jousting of the 15th Century. (From Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire Raisonné*.)

the left side to the breastplate, to prevent it from striking the cheek under the shock of the lance. It was very heavy and clumsy, and the jouster could only see by inclining his body well forward. The body armor consisted of the *plastron* and *dossière* (breast and backplates), strapped together at the sides; the lower part of the *plastron*, covering the abdomen, being further protected by a reinforcement or additional plate called the *braconnière*, composed of three articulated plaques of steel. On the right side of the breastplate was fastened the rest for the lance; and also another to the backplate, called the *queue*, or tail lance-rest, intended to relieve the jouster from the weight of the lance, and prevent the end from rising up behind. The shoulders were protected by the *spallières*, the elbows by the *garde-bras*, and the forearms by the *brassards*; the left hand was covered by the *bridle-gauntlet*, reaching almost to the elbow, and the right hand by the *vamplate*, or *roundel*, of the lance. A large plate covered the leg from the knee to within a few inches of the ankle, which was intended to prevent injury to the rider from the horse coming in contact with the lists at the moment of the impact. The shield was made of wood, covered with skin, and usually embellished with heraldic devices in relief, or by simple painting or gilding. It was concave in shape, flat at top and rounded below, and covered the left side of the body. It was hollowed out, or notched, on the right side, so as to allow the lance to pass through; and was attached to the *plastron* by means of a strong, platted cord fastened to a staple, the ends passing through and hanging down. This was the armament for the joust adopted during the fourteenth century, and practically remained unchanged (with the exception of the head-piece) until the end of the fifteenth century. The *bascinet*, however, about 1430, gave place to the *salade*, a lighter and less ponderous helmet. It was forged in a single piece, the lower part of the dome being slit for a sight, and the *garde-nuque* projected much more than with the *bascinet*. The *salade* was held in place by a strap fastened under the chin. As it was somewhat like a steel cap, and only protected the top of the head and upper part of the face, a plate called the *mentonnière* was fastened to the *plastron*, projecting upward until it almost met the *salade*, and completely covering the chin and lower part of the face. This form of helmet was also quite generally worn by the foot soldiers during the fifteenth century, but without the *mentonnière*.

It will thus be seen that the jousting, so equipped, when in the saddle was merely a machine, made to produce a shock, and if once unhorsed could not rise without assistance. In charging, he stood erect in his stirrups, leaning well forward, to see and give force to his blow, which was much augmented by the immense weight of the armor.

The horses used in the tournament and the joust were principally bred in Flanders, Spain, and Barbary, and were imported into England to improve the breed. They were, probably, carefully selected, and, no doubt, large and heavy, to carry the weight of their riders. During the fourteenth century, the only protection they had, if such it could be called, was the trappings, made of some rich material and usually embroidered with the armorial bearings of the owners in gold or silver. The horses were generally hooded, to make them run in a straight line, and to prevent them from shying at the moment of the shock. This style of armor was discarded, however, later, for the heavy steel bardings which we see in the illustrations of jousts of the time. It consisted of the chanfrein, or frontal piece, generally with a spike in the center; the manefaire, or covering for the mane and neck; poitrinal, or chest-piece, which extended along the sides to the rider's legs; and the croupière or tail-protection, which covered the flanks and extended forward to the calves of the rider. The saddle was made very high at the pommel and cantle. The former was heavily padded and the latter curved around towards the front, in order to hold the rider firmly in his seat, and prevent him, as far as possible, from being unhorsed.

At the middle of the sixteenth century, the armament for the joust underwent another change. Instead of the regular jousting suit, they reverted to the ordinary harness for war with the addition of certain extra plates called the "*pièces de renfort*." These consisted of the grande garde, secured to the left side of the breastplate; the volant piece, covering the left side of the face, and conforming to the shape of the helmet, and fastened to it by a clasp at the back and a linch pin in front; the pass-guard, or elbow-piece; and the bridle-gauntlet. Sometimes a sort of ribbed shield, bolted to the breastplate, was worn in addition. Several suits with these extra pieces are still preserved in the various museums, and among others may be mentioned the Earl of Leicester's, in the Tower, which is ornamented with



“Pièces de Renfort:” Volant, Grande Garde, and Elbow-piece. From the Author's Collection.

designs of the ragged staff and bands of engraved ornaments, and is probably one of the finest examples of the tilting suit of that period still left to us. Another is that of Prince Henry, son of James I, at Windsor.

The arms used in the joust were the lance, the sword, and the mace. The lance was the weapon most generally used. In the joust "a l'outrance," the head was of steel, pointed and sharp, in order to penetrate the armor; but in the joust "a plaisance," it was rebated, or blunt, in the form of a crown, whence it was called the coronel, the purpose of which was to unhorse the adversary without inflicting any wound. The shaft was hollow and grooved about half its length from the grip, and varied from eleven to fourteen feet in length, and six to twenty pounds in weight, according to the size of the jouster. A rounded, or vamplate, protected the hand above the grip, and a burr of metal, or sometimes of leather, was fastened to the butt of the shaft. The blade of the sword was made of a flat plate of iron, rebated, and with a groove hollowed in the center running about a third of its length. The quillions were bent forward and nearly covered by an iron guard bending upward. A platted cord or chain was attached to the pommel and fastened under the gauntlet at the wrist. The mace was of wood and furnished with a small roundel, for a guard, and a leather hilt and pommel, to allow a better grip for the hand. These swords and maces had to be signed and stamped by the judges.

Many curious accounts of tournaments and jousts have been given by the chroniclers of the middle ages, and others of a later period, a few of which it may be interesting to mention before closing this paper.

One, which was so serious as to be called the "Bataille de Châlons," was held by the Count of that name at the time when Edward I of England was passing through France in returning from the Holy Land in 1274. The Count invited the King to the tournament, and Edward, accepting the challenge, went on the appointed day to the lists, accompanied by his followers. As soon as the engagement commenced, the Count, a very powerful man, singling out the King, cast aside his sword, and threw his arms around Edward's neck, in endeavoring to drag him from his saddle. But the King, spurring on his horse, carried him away, and threw him violently to the ground. The Count remounted, and attacked the King again, but, finding him-

self disabled, gave up the fight, acknowledging him the victor. The followers of the Count, enraged at this, set upon the King in earnest. The English returned blow for blow, and Edward, determined to put an end to the affair, brought up his archers, who plied their terrible arrows with such deadly effect that the tournament was soon brought to a conclusion.

In the time of peace during the year 1398, several jousts took place between the Scots and English, and one in particular was that between Sir David de Lindsay, first Earl of Crawford, and Sir William Datzell, before Richard II and his court, as it is related by Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, in his work (Vol. II, page 64) entitled, *A Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armor*, who says: "Sir William Datzell was a man of lively wit and extremely clever. Chancing to be at the Court, he there saw Sir Piers Courtenay, an English knight, renowned for his skill in jousting as well as for the beauty of his person. He was, with much vanity, parading the palace, arrayed in a new mantle, bearing for a device a falcon with this rhyme:—

"I bear a falcon fairest of flight;
Whoso pinches at her, his death is dight
In graith."*

The Scottish lord appeared the next day in a dress exactly similar to that of Courtenay, but bearing a magpie, instead of a falcon, with a motto ingeniously contrived to rhyme with the vaunting inscription of Sir Piers:—

"I beare a pie picking at a piece;
Whoso pricks at her, I shall prick at his nese†
In faith.

This affront could only be expiated by a joust a l'outrance. In the first course, Datzell left his helmet unlaced, so that it gave way at the touch of his antagonists's lance, and he thus avoided the shock of the encounter. This also happened in the second course. In the third encounter, Courtenay lost two of his front teeth. As the Englishman complained bitterly of Datzell's fraud in not fastening his helmet, the Scottishman agreed to run six courses more, each champion staking in the hands of the king two hundred pounds, to be forfeited if on entering the lists any

*In armor, according to Sir Walter Scott.

†Nose.

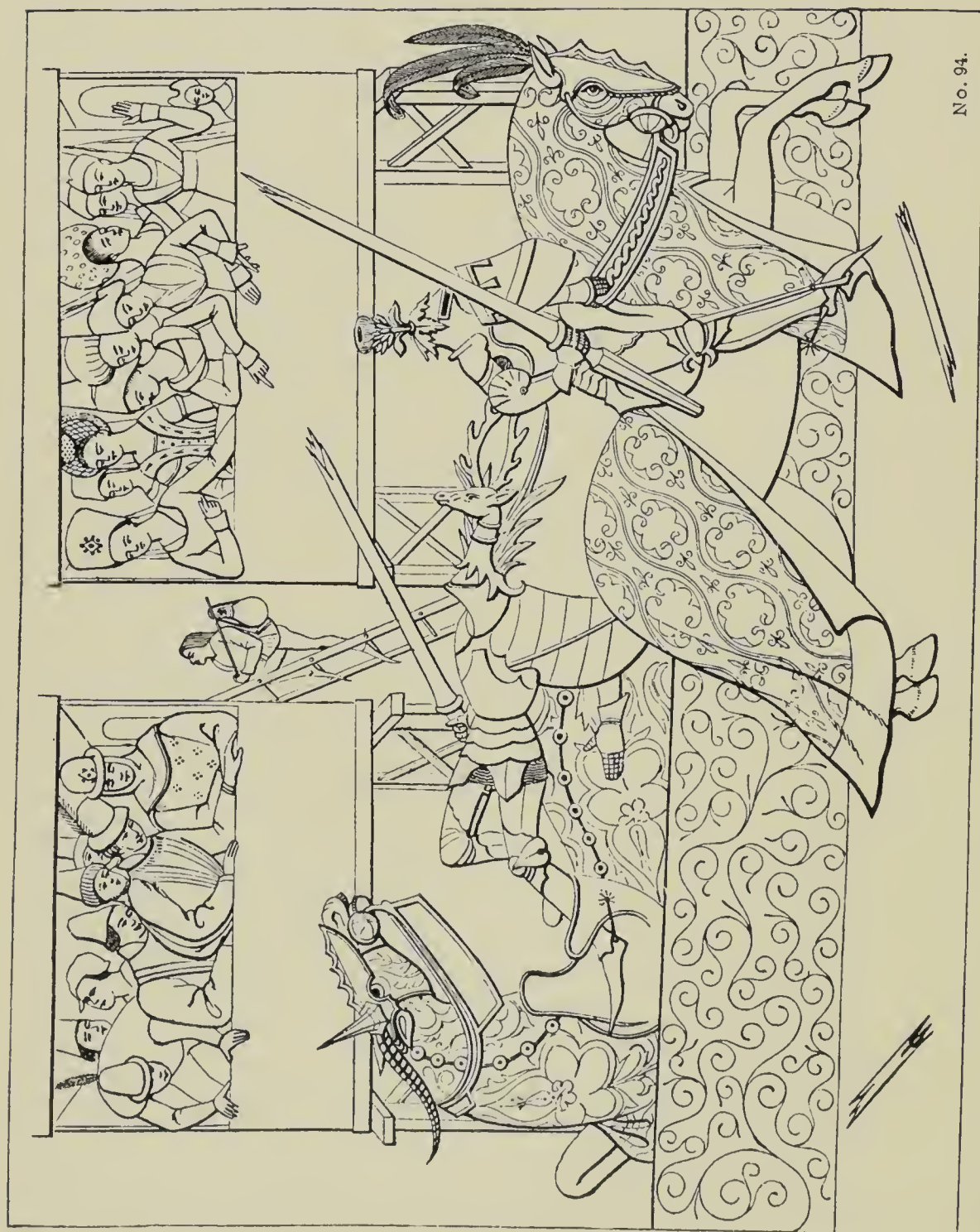
unequal advantage should be detected. This being agreed to, the wily Scot demanded that Sir Piers, in addition to the loss of his teeth, should consent to the extinction of one of his eyes, having himself lost an eye at the fight of Otterburn. As Courtenay demurred, Datzell demanded the forfeit, which, after much altercation, the King ordered to be paid to him, saying he surpassed the Englishman both in wit and valor."

Froissart has left us a very interesting account of a joust which took place in 1389, during the reign of Charles V of France. "Ye have heard often times," he says, "how the sport of ladies and damsels encourageth the hearts of young, lusty gentlemen, and causeth them to desire and seek to get honour." Such is the historian's prelude to this encounter. Three young French knights, Boucicaut le Jeune, Regnaut de Royé, and the Sire de St. Pye, published a joust throughout England, to take place near Calais, to continue thirty days, there to answer all comers with lances, either with sharp points or rebated. On the appointed day, the three French knights "pricked" forth to the place of appointment, and, to their joy, found a large party of Englishmen awaiting them, headed by John Hollard, Earl of Huntingdon, Lords Drayton, Sherbourne, Godfrey of Seaton, John of Arundel, and many others. The Frenchmen erected three pavilions at one end of the lists and hung at the entrance of each two shields, one of peace and the other of war, and announced that such as should desire to tilt would be "delivered according to his desire." They then stationed themselves at the entrance of their pavilions, and the heralds' trumpets announced the commencement of the joust. The Earl of Huntingdon was the first to open the contest, and sent his squire to touch the war shield of Boucicaut le Jeune. He ran three courses. At the first, the Earl's lance pierced his adversary's shield, and did no further harm. The second was also harmless, and at the third, both horses shied and passed on. Boucicaut then refused to run again, and the Englishman sent his esquire to touch the war shield of the Sire St. Pye, who promptly issued from his pavilion; and when the Earl saw he was ready the signal was given, and both, couching their lances, spurred their horses violently. But the horses crossed, and in doing so the Earl was unhelmed. He, however, returned to his squires, and was rehelmed. Then they ran again, and met, their lances striking the middle of their shields, the shock nearly unhorsing them; but they were saved

by gripping their horses with their legs, and they held on, and each returned to his place. At the second encounter, each struck the other on the helm so hard that sparks of fire flew out; but St. Pye was unhelmed. In this course each passed on and returned to his place. And so Froissart goes on to describe the various encounters of the English knights with the three challengers, which continued for four days, then the English knights returned to England. The three French knights remained the thirty days, but no other Englishmen appeared to do any deed of arms with them.

One of the most interesting jousts of the middle ages was that held between Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, brother of the Queen of Edward IV of England, and the Bastard of Burgundy, on horseback and on foot. The lists were erected at Smithfield, and galleries were prepared for the king and his court. The first day, they ran several courses, without either obtaining any advantage over the other. The next day they tilted again, with the result that the Bastard of Burgundy was unhorsed by Lord Scales's horse thrusting the spike of his chanfrein into the nostrils of the Bastard's horse. But the king ordered the marshal to help the Bastard to his feet, and the tourney to stop; although the bruised knight wished the encounter to proceed. On the third day they came into the lists on foot, armed with pole-axes. They fought long and well, until at length the point of Lord Scales's axe entered the sight of the Bastard's helm, and it was feared that it might terminate fatally to the Burgundian; then the king dropped his warder, and the marshal separated them. The Bastard again desired the combat might proceed, and Lord Scales consented; but the king gave judgment in favor of Lord Scales, and the Bastard relinquished his challenge.

The decadence of the joust and the tournament dates from the middle of the sixteenth century, when the tragic death of Henry II in the memorable joust with the Comte de Mongomeri, mentioned above, seems to have put an end to these graceful pastimes. Henry IV of France; Prince Henry, son of James I of England, and Louis XIV all vainly endeavored, with many brilliant pageantries and passages-of-arms, to revive these noble institutions, which came into existence with the middle ages and with them passed away.



No. 94.

Knights Jousting. From Cotton MS. (From Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, Vol. III, Pl. 94.)

EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

From Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, Vol. III, page 509, plate 94:—

Knights jousting, from Cotton MS, Nero, D, ix., the *Histoire de Jehan de Saintré*, written about 1480. The subject here given is from folio 39, and the colors are as follows: *Near knight*: Armor, iron-color; feet, black; crest, red flower with gold leaves; saddle, bridle and stirrup-leather, red; trapper of horse, blue marked with darker blue and lined with white fur. *Far knight*: Armor and feet, as before; crest, gold with red feathers; saddle, buff; trapper, dark with black markings; bells, gold. Chanfreins of both, ridges and spike, gold, the rest iron; the bits have bosses of gold. The barrier is red, marked with deeper red. It will be observed that, except the helm, the whole armour differs in nothing from the usual war suit. . . . The helms worn by our knights are of the usual single-cleft form of this century. That singular variety in which a disc is fixed by a stem to the back of the helm, now first appears, and may be seen in the picture by Uccello in the National Gallery, the battle of Sant' Egidio. The plumed courser is frequently found at this period. Examples are offered by the Great Seals of Edward IV, Richard III, and Henry VII, by the figures of Lahire and Joan of Arc (Sommerard, *Les arts au Moyen-âge*, series iv, plate 9). The horse on the left hand, his rider being dismounted, affords a good opportunity of examining the construction of the saddle and the fashion of the double-reined bridle. The gilt bells decorating that horse are again found in the Bruges Tournament, where we have "xii. coursers of a sute in cremesyn velvet, enrampleshid wt great campaynes of fine gold." The spike on the chanfrein was not always permitted—at least, in the Joust of Peace. Thus, a "squyer of Almayne" bringing his horse "armed and enforced with iii, long daggers, oon before and ii. on the sides," the Duke of Burgundy 'ordeyned the seide harneise to be avoided." It would appear that champions were sometimes tied in their saddles.

Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, Vol. III, page 633. Plates 122 and 123:—

From the Tournament Roll of King Henry VIII, preserved in the Herald's College. The first subject (Pl. 122) represents the King, under the name of *Cœur loyal*, tilting with one of the knights composing the band of "Venantz" or accepters of the challenge. The Queen, with the ladies of her court and a company of noblemen in rich collars of gold, occupies the standing beyond the barrier, which itself is richly decorated with arras, hangings of cloth-of-gold, and a fretted covering of roses and portcullises. The King's armor is silvered, the saddle-front, chanfrein and crinet of the horse are also silvered. The bases of the King are in stripes; alternately letters K (for Katherine, the Queen) in gold on a blue ground, and crimson cloth-of-gold. The trappers are blue with the device of *Cœur loyal* and the letters K in gold. Spurs, stirrups, bit, and bosses of bridle gilt. The horse is black. The coats of the esquires are parti-colored dexter, yellow,

sinister, violet; the hose, vermillion; hats, black with gold cording; the last has his hair confined in a crespine of crimson and gold. Massive golden chains are worn by both.

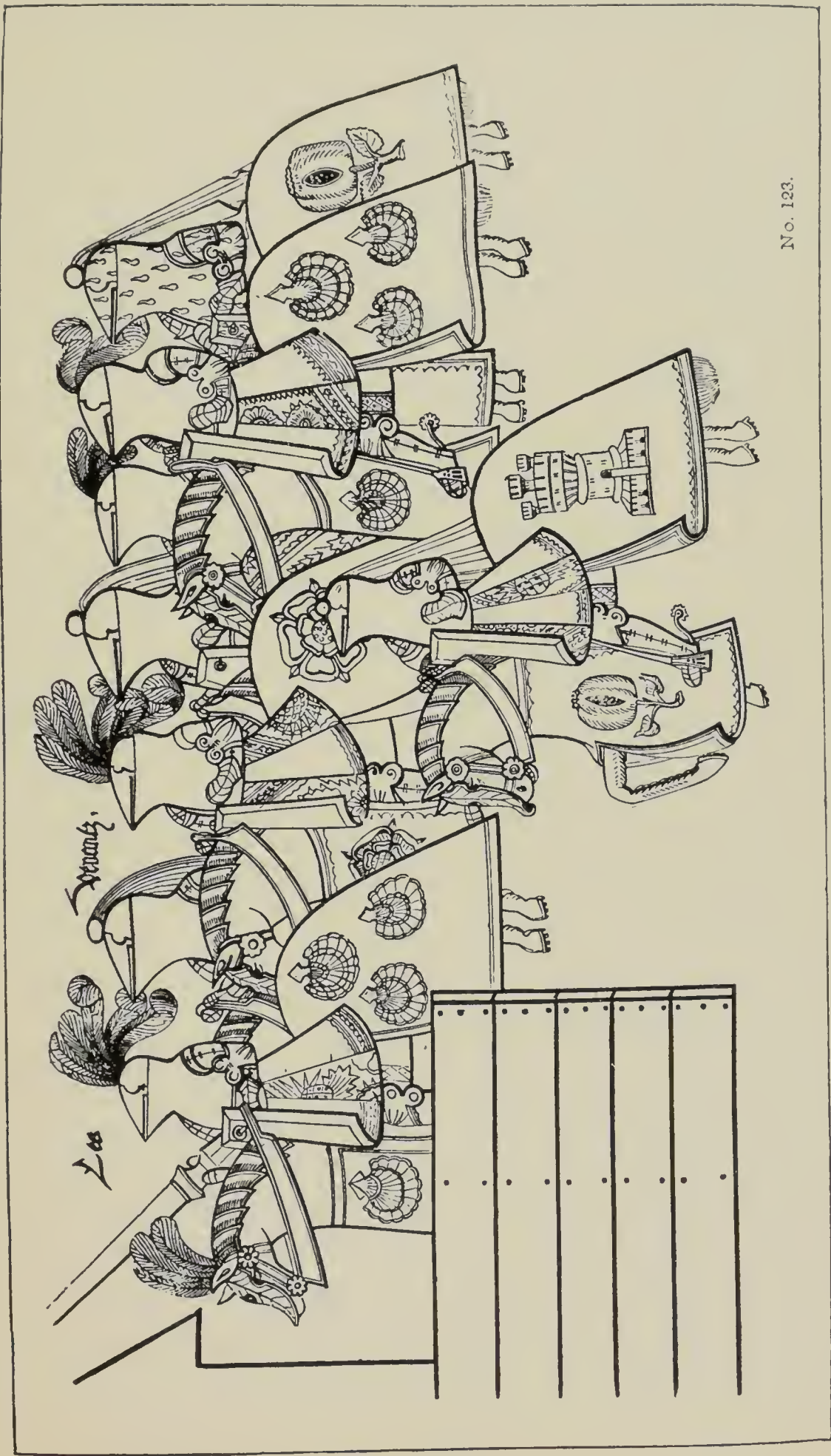
The second subject (Pl. 123) represents eight of "Les Venantz," the ninth being engaged with the King. All the armor is silvered, except that of the last knight, which is gilded with purple *guttæ*. All the cointises are white marked with a delicate tint of lilac (kerchiefs of pleasance?). Wherever there is a flowered pattern, on the bases, etc., it is of crimson cloth-of-gold. The original Roll is 14½ inches broad, the figures of the knights and others are 7 and 8 inches high. The material is stout parchment, and the whole in excellent preservation.

The roll opens with the words, "Vive le noble Roy H. VIIIe." Then follows a large device of a Rose and Pomegranate impaled, having the letters H and K on the sides. "Le maistre de larmurerye du Roy" succeeds; he is on horseback, wearing a civil dress, with gold chain, crespine of green and gold, and hat with plumes. Attendants follow him. Sergeant-at-arms; the mace-head is formed of a large gold crown. "Les Trompettes" on horseback, six in number, one of them a negro. "Les Gorgyas de la Court" six in number, on horseback, in civil costume. "Les Officiers d'armes," six in number; pursuivants and heralds wearing their tabards of arms. Next appear the four challengers (Tenantz)—"Joyeux Penser," "Bon Vouloir," "Vaillant Desyr," and "Noble Cœur Loyal" (the King); all in tilting harness; over each a "pavilion" supported by attendants. "Les Selles d'armes"; these are led horses; one of them is figured in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*. "Les pages du Roy," on horseback; the trappers are charged with Roses, Pomegranates, Fleurs-de-lis, and letters K. "La selle d'honneur," a led horse, armed; he is caparisoned in front with cloth-of-gold bordered with ermine; behind, with ermine bordered with cloth-of-gold. "Le grant Escuyer" and "Le maistre des Pages" are on horseback in civil costume. Here a new scene begins, though there is no line of demarcation. "Les quatre Tenantz" again appear. Three of them are under their pavilions ready to engage; their bases and trappers parti red and blue, with letters K in gold, and their names on the borders of the housings. The fourth challenger is the king. "Les Venantz" are nine in number; one is tilting with the King; the remaining eight are copied in our plate (Pl. 123). It is singular that this band also, the opponents of the King and his fellow-challengers, should exhibit on their trappers the devices of the royal pair, the rose, castle, and pomegranate. A third scene follows: "Le son des Trompettes. A l'hostel." This was the signal to quit the field. "Lyssue du Champ." A company of horsemen in civil dress. "Le heaulme du Roy"; this is carried on a truncheon by a richly-clad officer on horseback. The helm is silvered and at the neck has a border resembling the circle of a crown, elaborately ornamented with gold, pearls, and colored stones. It is surmounted by a royal crown of rich character, but unaccompanied by any mantling or other decoration. "Le Roy desarmey" presents us with a picture of the King in a civil costume. He wears over a splendid dress a broad, richly-jeweled collar, and carries part of a broken lance in his hand. This figure is given in Dallaway's *Heraldic Inquiries*. Near the end of the roll again



No. 122

King Henry VIII Tilting. From his Tournament Roll. (From Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, Vol. III, Pl. 122.)



Eight of "Les Venantz." From the Tournament Roll of King Henry VIII. (Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, Vol. III, Pl. 123.)

appears the Queen with her court, in a gallery; and the whole concludes with a copy of verses in praise of the King, in which the monarch is cited as the tenth Worthy of a band composed of Hector, Cæsar, Judas Macchabæus, Joshua, Charlemagne, King Arthur, Alexander, David, Godefroi de Bouillon, and Henry VIII.

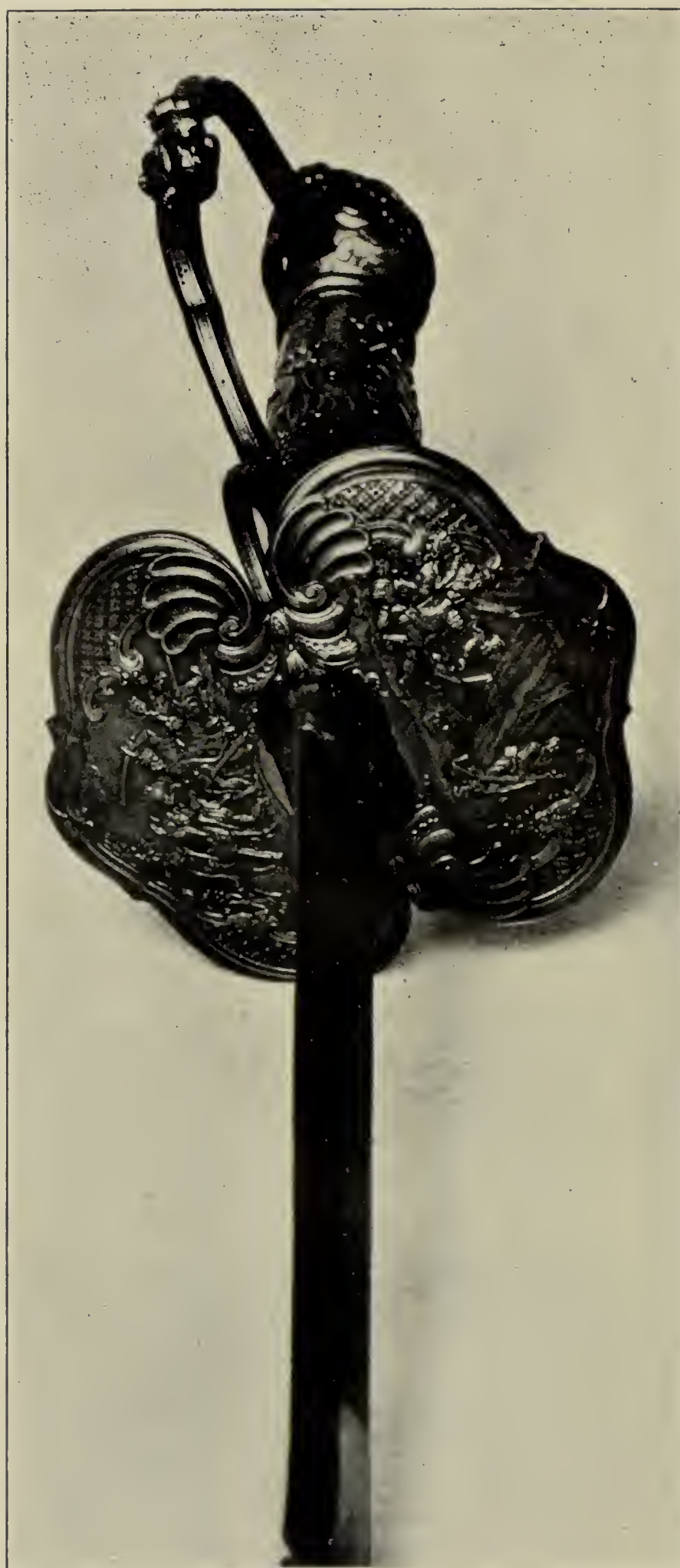
The splendid character of the knightly dress and of the trappers of the coursers at this time is witnessed by many contemporary evidences. Hall, the Chronicler, has a rich abundance of such testimonies, and appears to have taken an especial delight in recording the glitter of the spangles and the costliness of the cloth-of-gold. In 1509 "the trompettes blew to the feld (for 'a justes') the fresh young galantes and noble menne gorgeously appareled, with curious devises, of cuttes and of embrouderies, as well in their coates as in trappers for their horses, some of gold, some in silver, some in tynsels, and divers others in goldsmithes worke goodly to behold." Other joustes had "riche plumes and other devises on their hedde peces, their bases and trappers of tisew, clothe of golde, silver, and velvet." In 1516 at a *solempne justes* held in honor of the King's sister, the apparel of the challengers and their horses "was blacke velvet, covered all over with braunches of honey suckels of fine, flat gold of damaske, of lose worke, every lefe of the braunche moving, the embrouderie was very conning and sumptuous." In 1517, the King jousted, having his bases and bardes "one halfe clothe of silver, the other halfe blacke tinsell, on the silver a curious lose worke of white velvet embraudered with golde; on the blacke tynsell side was black velvet embraudered with gold and cut, and every cut was engrayled with flat gold of Damaske. The base and barde were broudered with greate letters of massey gold bullion, full of pearles and stones merveilous riche. The kynge had on his head a ladies sleve full of Diamondes."

Some of the "devises" worn on these occasions are of a puerility which is scarcely credible. "In the moneth of Marche (1522) came certain noble men from the Emperour to the king, which the more to solace them enterprised a justes. He himself was chief on the one side. His courser was barded in cloth of silver of Denmarke, embroidered with L. L. L. of golde and under the letters a harte of a manne wounded, and greate rolles of golde with blacke letters in whiche was written *mon navera*. Put together, it is, *ell mon ceur a navera*, she hath wounded my harte." This example is selected, not because it is the most absurd, but because it is short. Singularly ridiculous as are these devices, they are not the extent of the knightly follies of this age. One requires to read twice or thrice the records of the time before one can feel assured that the chronicler has really told us that a peer of the realm of England proceeds to a tournament in the inside of a Red Dragon, a fellow-peer accompanying him inside of a "Mountain of green" on the summit of which rides a young lady pleasantly beseen. "Eftsoones the trumpets blewe up the field in goodly manner of warre; and anone came out Guillam de la Rivers in his pavilion, in a goodly *Shippe* borne up with men, himselfe riding within in the midst. The Lord William of Devonshire in a *Red Dragon* led by a Gyant and with a great Tree in his hand, Thearle of Essex in a great *Mountaine of greene*, the which served for his pavilion with many Trees,

Rocks, Hearbes, Stones, and marveyulous Beasts upon the sides; on the Height of this Mountaine there was a goodly young Ladye in her Haire pleasantly beseene." The manner of these strange vehicles is admirably shewn in the curious work of Balthasar Kuchler, the pictorial record of the festival on the marriage of the Duke of Würtemberg and the Margravine of Brandenburg; where we find exactly reproduced the traveling mountains and itinerant dragons of Tudor times.



Hilt of Prince Eugene of Savoy's Sword. Author's Collection.



Lower Side of the Guard Plate of Prince Eugene of Savoy's Sword.
Author's Collection.

PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY'S SWORD.

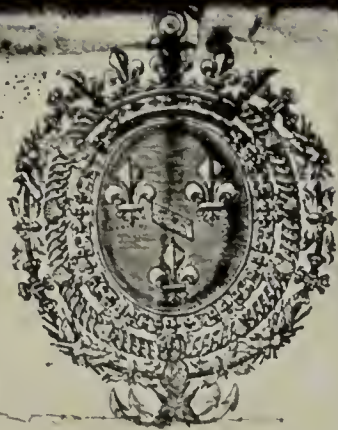
The following plates illustrate the interesting and beautiful sword hilt that belonged to Prince Eugene of Savoy, and was exhibited by Mr. Cornelius Stevenson at a former meeting of the Society; together with a passport of Prince Eugene that accompanied the sword. The following article in regard to the sword hilt appeared in the *Collector* of April 15th, 1892:—

This sword hilt made for and once the property of Eugene of Savoy is an historical relic and a remarkable specimen of designing, casting, and the silversmith's art. It is made of silver, relieved with a gilding, then chiseled, and is ciselure, true sculpture work, and not repoussé filled in with softer metal. The figure-work is especially worthy of attention from the correct proportions and the careful attention to the minutest detail. Although the blade has been broken, this sword is in every sense of the word a sword, the blade being a double-edged one of the finest tempered steel.

The upper part of the hilt terminates with an opening bud. The flying guard protecting the grip is square, but its severeness is relieved by a delicate grooved chased border, while in a central recess is a sitting figure of an African. The button of the hilt is made up of two scenes; the one, a goddess sitting with a tablet in one hand and a pencil in the other. The three-pointed mural crown and the cherub standing near her on a pile of books and planes suggest that possibly the sword was a commemoration of the building of the city. The other side of the button is adorned with a stand of battle flags and the lion of Savoy at rest, on whose head a cherub is placing a crown topped with a cross, suggesting the crowning of a hero in times of peace. Below this, on one side of the hilt, Minerva, with a spray of laurel, and Hercules with a club, with trampled foe under foot, are upholding a tablet on which is the bust of the Queen, possibly the mother of Maria Theresa, above which is the cherub blowing a trumpet; suggesting that wisdom and strength are upholding or guiding the Queen, and the cherub with clarion notes is proclaiming the greatness of the lady, who is probably the donor of the sword. On the reverse side of the grip is the figure of Justice with the foe under foot, in one hand holding the scales of justice and in the other a drawn sword. Between the guard and the grip is a figure standing on a globe writing with a pencil on the open page of a book; on the reverse side, another figure, the goddess of plenty, pouring from the horn of plenty the laurel branches to the cherub; suggesting that the greatness of the hero is being entered on the pages of history, and that the laurel of glory is being awarded to him. The guard plate is ornated on both sides, one-half of the upper representing a battle in which a mounted horseman, carrying a battle-flag is shooting a fallen foe, while he is being fired on by two apparently retreating enemies; suggesting that the warrior had evidently beaten his foemen although they greatly outnumbered him. On the other

side is a warrior mounted on a horse with a foe on either side. The lower surface represents two scenes of the Turkish invasion. In one we have the interior view of a tent with an open and unopened coffer and the plundering barbarians in the act of rifling one of the coffers. In the other view a Turk is leading two horses, while another is resting. The handle of the sword and the part forming the space for the two fingers between the guard plate and the guard, are beautifully brought together by passing this piece of silver through the mouths of two lions' heads which adorn the body of the sword. The projecting knob is ornamented with grotesque heads.

This sword is said to have belonged to Eugene, Prince of Savoy, who left France in the latter part of the seventeenth century, after the refusal of Louis XIV to admit him to the armies of France, the Grande Monarque insulting him by making the remark that he was better fitted to be a priest than a soldier. He left for England with the threat that when he returned to France it would be as her enemy. His brilliant success in routing the Turks with the Grand Duke Lewis of Baden in 1699, and his success with Marlborough at Blenheim and Oudenarde are well known. There is a passport accompanying this sword, issued by Count de Dreux on July 22, 1708. The sword was evidently presented to Eugene of Savoy for his memorable defeat of the Turks in 1699, and not made in France before his departure for Austria. The passport bears date very near the time of the battle of Oudenarde.



LOUIS DE VENDOSME,
COMTE DE DREUX,
DUC DE VENDOSME, DE MERCOEUR
ET D'ESTAMPES, PRINCE D'ANET ET DES MARTIGUES,

Pair, & General des Galeres de France, Lieutenant General des
Mers du Levant, Commandeur des trois Ordres du Roy, Gouver-
neur pour Sa Majesté en Provence, cy-devant Viceroy & Capitaine
General en Catalogne, General des Armées de Sa Majesté en Flan-
dres, Conseiller au Conseil Suprême d'Estat & de Guerre de Sa
Majesté Catholique, & Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or.

*Laisse's Surenent et librement passer un Ayde de
Monsieur le Prince Eugene de Savoy avec ses valets,
Equipage ensemble ou separément, en un ou deux ans ou
non separément allant sur les terres des Etats generaux
allies, ^{avec ou sans escorte} Le present passeport bon pour le reste de la Guerre
a condition de n'approcher plus près de deux lieues des
places et armées des deux Couronnes. Donne au
Louvres le 22 Juillet 1708.*

PAR MONSIEUR,
Comptroller

Passport Accompanying Prince Eugene of Savoy's Sword. Author's Col-
lection.



DE PAR LE ROY.

[illegible]

sans leur donner aucun empêchement, ains tout sauvegarde & assistance, si vous en êtes requis, à la charge de ne rien faire de préjudiciable au service & à nos Sujets, & à condition de n'approcher plus près d'une lieue de Villes & Places closes de notre obéissance, & de ne porter ny le char d'aucunes Marchandises pour les faire entrer dans les Villes & Terres de notre Domination, ou les faire sortir vers celles des Ennemis; mais seulement pour les faire voiturer d'une Place du Pais des Ennemis à une autre de leur Souveraineté, ou occupée par leurs Armes, pourvu qu'il n'y ait point de combatte, & sans passer par le Plat-Pais de notre Domination. Le présent Passeport valable pour deux mois, à commencer du jour qu'il sera collationné. DONNÉ à Versailles le cinquième Juin mil sept cent sept. Signé, LOUIS. Et plus bas, CHAMILLART.

Collationné par Nous Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Maître des Requêtes
Ordinaire de son Hôtel, Intendant au Département de Metz, Frontières de
Champagne, du Luxembourg & de la Sarre, le quinze mil sept cens jour
d'unvies d'octobre mil sept cens

McBarnett
Europe, England, 2002, 2003, 2004

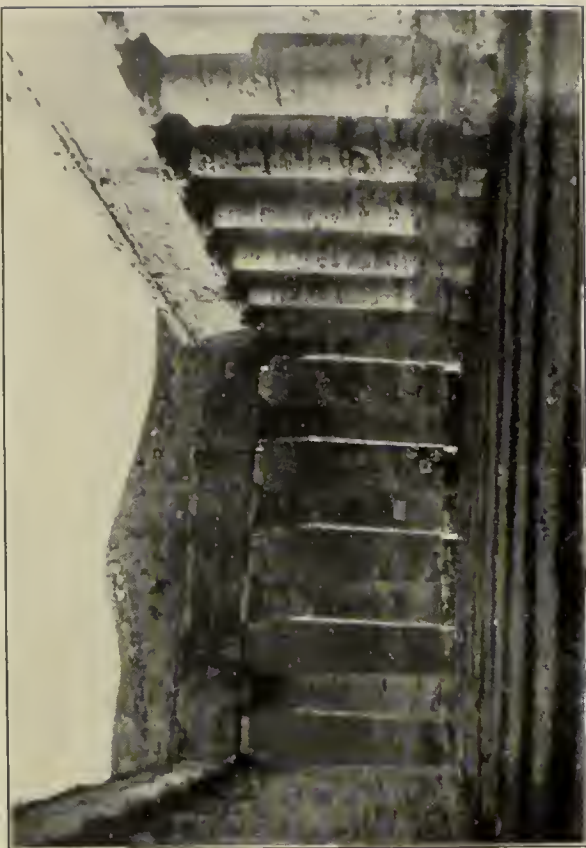
Enregistré par le soussigné Receveur du District de *St. Louis*
 au Bureau Fol. *10*
 ayant reçu la somme de *1000* livres ou de *1000* \$.
 pour les Droits à quoy le Patente est taxé.
 Et dont l'acquit pour l'Enregistrement.

Sur l'Engagement.

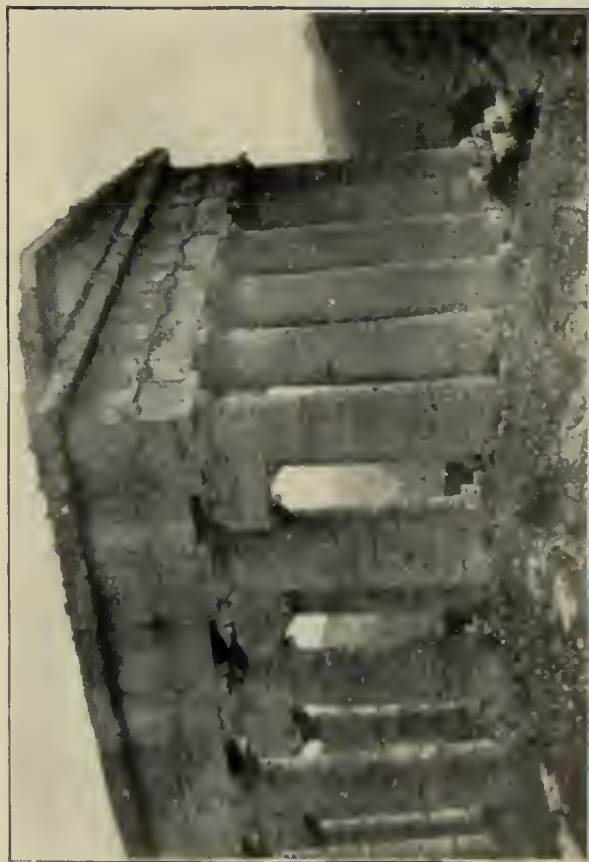
Back of Passport Accompanying Prince Eugene of Savoy's Sword.
Author's Collection.



Temple of Segesta, Looking West.



Temple of Segesta, Interior, Looking West.



Temple of Segesta, Looking Northwest.



Temple of Segesta, South Side.

A FEW IMPRESSIONS OF SEGESTA AND SELINUS.

BY C. M. BURNS.

*(Read to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia,
April 2d, 1903.)*

The paper on the remains of the temples of Segesta and Selinus, or Selinuntum, was not prepared with any idea of publication, being intended only to convey a few impressions received during a visit made to these sites during the early winter of 1902-03; and is here presented only in abstract.

The material used in the construction of these buildings is very largely oolitic limestone.

The first trip was made from the railroad station of Calatafimi by carriage about five miles, passing the hot sulphur springs, where there are traces of an ancient sanitarium, to Segesta.

The temple, never completed, the cella never having been built, and, consequently, never roofed, situated on the top of the first foothill, presents a very impressive, though sad and lonesome, appearance. It is supposed to have been built during the fifth or fourth century, B. C. It is a Peripteros Hextastylos of thirty-six columns, of the Doric order, the "fluting" still unfinished. The length of the structure is 200 feet and the width 85 feet.

Although the temple, so much of it as was built, is still in a very good condition, there appear no evidences of a town or village having been nearer than the top of the neighboring Mount Varvaro, about an eighth of a mile away. Here are the remains of a rock-cut theatre, also many traces of houses and streets. The theatre is 205 feet in diameter, and the stage 90 feet wide.

Another trip was made, about the same time, to the ruins of the temples and town of Selinus, or Selinunte, a drive of about seven and a half miles from the town of Castelvetro. Selinus was founded during the seventh century, B. C. Here are the ruins of no less than seven temples, some of immense proportions; in one instance the building has a length of 370 feet and

a width of 170 feet; its Doric columns, constructed in "drums," when standing, were over 50 feet in height.

These temples appear to have been all thrown down about the same time by an earthquake, so regularly in order lie the columns. A number of the sculptured metopes, in excellent preservation, have been set up in the Museum of Palermo. Although the town had practically only about two centuries of life, it was well built and strongly fortified; not sufficiently so, however, to prevent its destruction, 409 B. C., by Hannibal, son of Gisco, and grandson of Hamilcar.

During the later Roman period, the place seems to have been a refuge for some of the early Christians, as it was also for the Arabs during the Norman occupation. Along the well-paved streets of this town, the houses and shops, so far as they remain, suggest considerable similarity to those of Pompeii. Attention was called to the excellence of the stone cutting and to the manner of clamping the work.

Judging from what may be seen of some of the remains still in place, and from many which have been taken under the protecting roof of the museum in Palermo, these temples were, without doubt, all elaborately decorated in polychrome and gold.

A curious building of doubtful origin, now known as the Church of San Nicolo, near Girgenti, was noticed. Its general construction and plan show it to be of a remote period, and it is to be hoped that some light may be thrown on its origin.

With the hope of drawing out some views as to the remarkable and elaborate manner in which they are decorated, the paper closed with a description of the Sicilian "Carrette."

NOTE.—The day after the paper was read, Mr. Charles J. Cohen sent the writer a note, saying that he had noticed a good deal of the same character of decoration on cradles, cupboards, and other household objects in and near the town of "Leeuwarden in Friesland, now a part of Holland, north of the Zuyder Zee. The style of decoration is called Hindeloopen, from the town of that name which is only a few miles distant from Leeuwarden."



Selinus: Acropolis and Ruins of Temple C.



Metopes from Selinus in the Palermo Museum.

Metopes from Temple C, about
600 B. C.

Metopes from Temple E

“TEIGDRÜCKE”—PRINTS IN PASTE.

BY JOHN F. LEWIS.

*(Before the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia,
October 1st, 1903. Written out, March, 1904.)*

The art of engraving blocks or plates for the purpose of printing has left many interesting traces of its gradual development. One of the most interesting of these, and probably the least understood, is a class of strange prints called “Teigdrücke”; “Empreintes en pâte”; or impressions in paste. These prints are so called because the design is printed from the block or plate with paste instead of with ink, or, more correctly speaking, upon paste spread over paper. They are exceedingly scarce, and but few specimens have been described. Few, indeed, are known, possibly 100 altogether, if a rough guess were to be made at their total.

The use of paste to receive the impress of the design seems a natural suggestion from the immemorial use of seals upon wax, and these paste prints may, therefore, antedate all ink printing and belong to the very dawn of the art of engraving for the purpose of reproducing designs. Their extreme scarcity and the widely separated situations of the few known specimens, make it difficult to study them critically and determine with any reasonable approach to certainty where or when they were produced. Their original hiding-places seem to be in old books, pasted usually upon the inside of the cover, and as the paste upon which the design is printed dissolves in water, they can only be removed by cutting or tearing them out. It is better that they should remain where they are pasted, but, unfortunately, print collectors do not seem to have much fondness for prints in books, and, therefore, many of the known specimens have been removed from the books containing them, and torn in the act.

From the design and manner of the engraving represented by the prints in paste, and from the place of production of the printed or manuscript books in which they have been found, it

can be guessed, with some likelihood that the guess is correct, that they were produced in Germany, probably Bavaria, before the year 1500, possibly before 1450, and that they were printed from blocks or plates of metal, engraved in relief, rather than from blocks of wood.

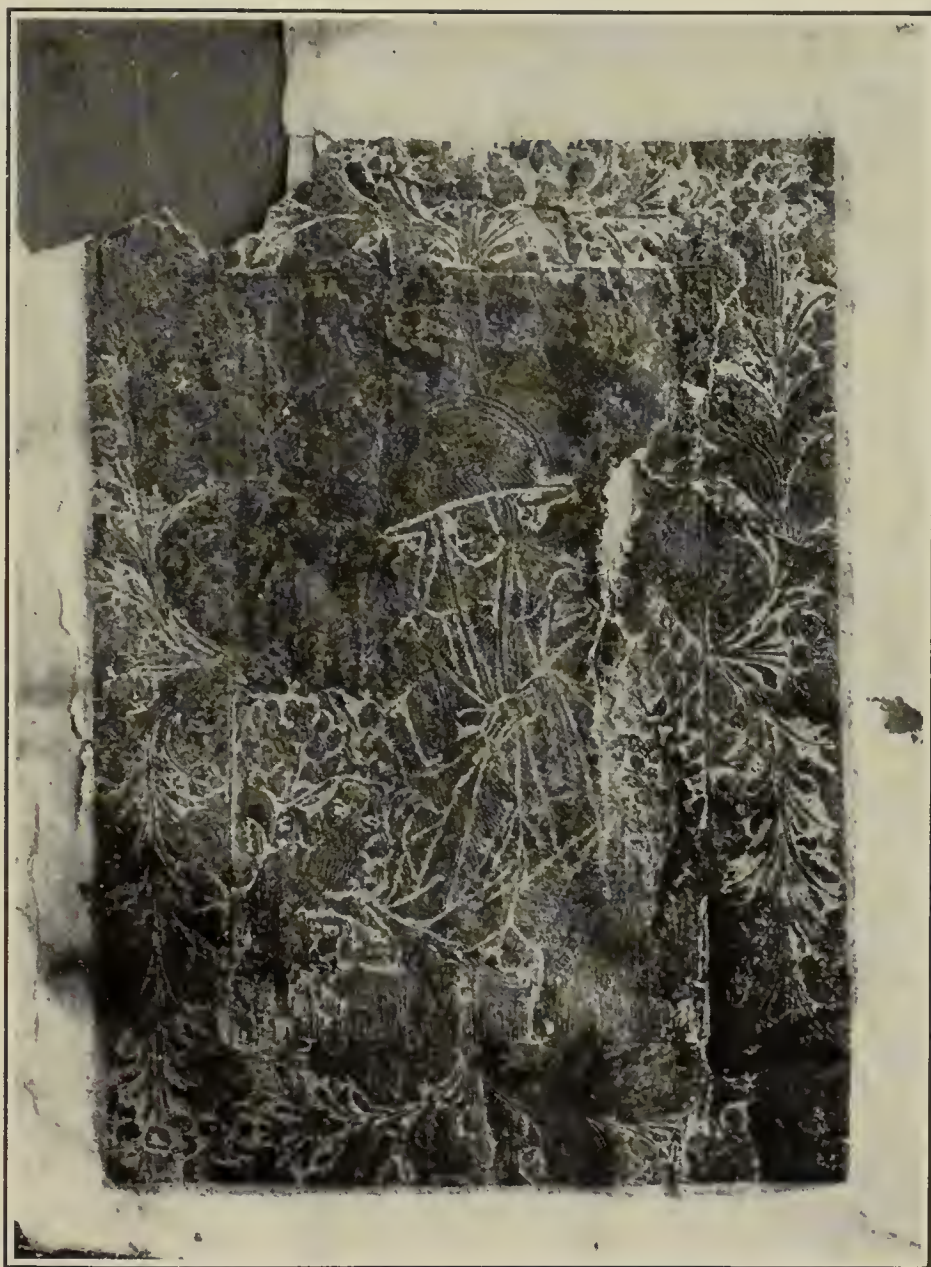
Passavant, in *Le Peintre-Graveur*, Vol. I, page 102, describes some sixteen Teigdrücke, and undertakes to divide them into three classes: "velvet-like prints," "embroidery-like prints," and "prints-in-paste properly so called." But he says that of the first two classes, there are known to him but a single specimen of each class. From his own description of these two specimens, it would seem that they were unique, or were accidents rather than examples, and that all paste prints can be included within his third class of "prints in paste properly so called." Referring to these, he says that from investigations he has made of some well-preserved specimens, it appears to him that the engraved lines in the metal had been filled with a colored material, generally black in tint, of the consistence of paste, in such a way that the design when printed might be seen in relief and of deep color, and that the plate was then warmed, and printed on paper prepared with yellow ochre.

His description is far from clear; indeed, it is difficult to see how his suggested method of printing could be carried out in practice. An intagliate or *cut-into* metal plate, such as Passavant's description seems to contemplate, would have printed lines only, the ink or printing material being necessarily wiped from the surface of the plate, but the fact is that the paste-prints clearly exhibit surface printing. He goes on to say that the remains of gilding show that gold was employed for certain ornaments.

Messrs. Weigel & Zestermann, in *Die Anfänge der Drucker-Kunst in Bild und Schrift*, suggest a somewhat different method of printing from that of Passavant, but their description is also far from clear, and singularly complicated. The paper, they say, was first fluted or pressed to resemble a woven fabric, and then spread over with a light doughy paste of a golden brown color which stuck fast to the fluted paper. When this coating was dry, the block or plate with the design engraved thereon was printed off with paste or bird lime on this golden brown surface. The print, they say, was then dusted with powder, to bring out the design.

They avoid telling us whether the block with the design was

intagliate or in *relief*; and, not satisfied with paper colored yellow, and then covered with paste to print on, they seemingly add, in their suggested process, more paste to the plate itself and dust afterwards. Whether a fifteenth century printer could understand their description of the process would be difficult to say, but it can probably be confidently asserted that no practical



"St. Hieronymus." A "Teigdruck" or Print in Paste.

printer of the twentieth century would be able to follow out the suggested method and produce anything intelligible as a design.

The Teigdruck, here reproduced by half-tone, represents St. Hieronymus, and is the property of Mr. Ludwig Rosenthal, of Munich. Its printed portion is about four and one-sixteenth

inches long by two and seven-eighths inches wide. It has evidently been torn from a printed or manuscript book, probably the latter, and its upper left-hand corner injured in so doing. A careful examination of the print, under a binocular microscope, which was used in order to get stereoscopic vision, the light through a condenser being thrown obliquely against the surface of the print, seems to disclose the way the odd relic was printed, at least to the writer's belief and satisfaction.

A yellow ground was first laid down on the paper. There seems to be no dispute as to this being the first step. Such a ground was probably used as the mount, or base, of all Teigdrücke. The ground seems to have been laid by the simple application of yellow paint mixed with some soluble gum, spread with a brush by hand, and covering the space intended to receive the print. The yellow paint does not seem to have been printed from a block upon the paper, because the margin of the yellow paint is irregular, and seems to indicate brush marks. This was the first process.

When the paper was dry, this yellow space was evenly coated by a brush with thick brown paste, which may have been composed of bird lime and glue; and while the paste was wet and sticky, the metal block or plate containing the design was impressed on the paste, in the same manner exactly as if a print were made upon wax with a seal. To prevent the metal block or plate from sticking to the paste in the act of printing, the block or plate was probably steamed over a kettle or blown on by the breath. This was the second process, and completed the printing.

As to the engraving of the block or plate, it does not seem to have been in any respects different from the engraving of a seal, except that the outlines were in *relief*, and the extent of their relief precisely the same. The engraver simply cut down the surface of the block or plate, letting the outlines remain, in the same way exactly as was practiced by the fifteenth century wood-cutter, who copied the design upon the block of wood by cutting away the wood between the lines and leaving the design in relief. The engraver of the Teigdruck block or plate went, however, one step further. He not only lowered the surface of his metal block or plate, but within the outlines he engraved or intagliated a design, so that when the block or plate was brought down upon the paste under pressure, the outlines in relief *cut through* the paste and exposed the yellow ground on the paper beneath,

while the rest of the design within the outlines upon the lowered surface of the block received the paste forced therein by pressure, and left ridges of paste standing up in relief on the print—producing what must have been, before weathered by many centuries, a very beautiful and effective work of art. The microscope shows clearly, first, that the outlines have *cut through* the pasty material on which the design was impressed, exposing the yellow ground below, and secondly, that between or within the lines the pasty material has *risen* into the grooves or hollows of the block or plate, and remains in relief.

In the *Manuel de L'Amateur de la Gravure sur Bois et sur Métal au XV Siècle*, by W. L. Schreiber, Berlin, 1893, Vol. VI, plate 35, is given a fac-simile of a Teigdruck representing “St. Wolfgang,” and belonging to the Imperial Cabinet of Engravings at Berlin, and in size, border, and detail, except the saint’s figure, seems in exact accord with the present specimen. The author says that the “St. Wolfgang” was probably printed in Bavaria between 1460 and 1480.

In the “Catalogue of Early Prints in the British Museum—German and Flemish Schools,” London, 1879, Dr. Willshire described a Teigdruck representing the “Crucifixion,” which at that time was the only one belonging to the Museum. Dr. Willshire says of the specimen:—

At first sight the print before us exhibits but an indistinct design formed out of an elaborately involved series of lines of a deep ochraceous hue running over a ground of vandyk-brown color, or a thin layer of asphaltum, bitumen or animal glue. This design is enclosed within a running border of leaves, at the four angles of which border are rosette-like ornaments. The entire composition, which is somewhat irregular in its boundaries, averages 4 1-16 inches in height and 2 7/8 inches in breadth. Of these dimensions, nearly 3/8 of an inch are occupied by the border.”

Dr. Willshire says that the print in the Museum has a margin of clear paper around it, and his description fits to a nicety the print now reproduced. He further says: “The forms and contours are defined by the light ochre-like portions of the imprint, within which are the superficial masses of the dark, bitumen-like matter,” a description which seems to accord with the method of printing I have ventured to suggest as that by which the “Teigdrücke” were struck off.

It can, probably, be concluded:—

That all “Teigdrücke properly so called” were printed upon a yellow ground which was first laid down on paper, and upon which, when dry, a coating of thick brown paste was laid by a brush. Upon this paste, while wet, the design was printed from a metal block or plate, or, rather, from what would more correctly be termed a metal *stamp*, the lines of which were in *relief* and cut through the paste, exposing the yellow ground below, and leaving the paste raised or embossed in the valleys between the lines and in the intagliate lines cut in those valleys.

As “Teigdrücke” are usually, if not always, found pasted in books, and usually, if not always, within the inside covers, it can, probably, be concluded that they were intended for such use; and as the engraving of the block or plate was similar in aim, method, and general technique, to the stamps used in the ancient art of book-binding to impress designs upon leather coverings, it can, probably, be concluded that “Teigdrücke” originated in the shops of the book-binders, and were printed off by means of a press in some form or other which the ancient book-binder must have used in his art.

A thorough study and classification of all known “Teigdrücke” would, doubtless, throw much light upon their origin, and afford material for a hitherto unwritten chapter in the history of engraving for the purpose of printing.

“SCHROTLÄTTER”; OR, PRINTS IN THE
“MANIÈRE CRIBLÉE,”

WITH SOME CONSIDERATION OF A SET OF EIGHT SUCH PRINTS
ASSOCIATED WITH TYPOGRAPHIC TEXT.

BY JOHN F. LEWIS.

(*Before the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia,
October 1st, 1903. Written out, April, 1904.*)

Among the most interesting European *incunabula* of the art of printing from engraved surfaces, are the “Schrotblätter,” or prints in the “Manière Criblée.” They are thus called because their design, instead of being worked out by means of lines incised or in relief, are wholly or in part made up of a multitude of large dots showing white against a black background, as if the plate from which they were printed had been gnawed or indented, or pierced through like a sieve.

Besides the name of “Schrotblätter,” and prints in the “Manière Criblée,” these queer pictures have been variously called. Upon one such print, representing the “Virgin and Child,” and now in the Paris Cabinet, the name of *Bernardinus Milnet* has been read, whence these prints have been called “in the style of Bernardinus Milnet.” From the fact that another one was discovered pasted within the cover of the Mazarin Bible, the first printed book from movable type, 1450-1455, and so called because a copy was found in the great cardinal’s library, they have been called “in the manner of the Mazarin Crucifixion.” Lastly, because the Monk Theophilus, one of the earliest writers upon the arts of the middle ages, describes in his *Diversarum Artium Schedula* the engraving of plates by a process *interrasile*, this term has been applied to them.

EXACTLY WHEN THEY WERE FIRST PRODUCED seems impossible to determine. The only one known to bear an actual date is a “St. Bernardino,” at Paris, and its date is singularly unfortunate in being susceptible of various readings, either 1414, 1454, or 1474. The French authorities, as might be expected, favor the

earlier readings, while the English and continental writers seem to be reasonably unanimous that the date should be read 1474.

Dr. Willshire, in his *Introduction to the Study and Collection of Ancient Prints*, insists that the latest date is the true one, and Mr. Dodgson, in the *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts, Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Vol. I, London, 1903, page 158, agrees with the learned doctor's opinion.

Assuming, however, this conclusion to be correct, it by no means follows that the "St. Bernardino" was the first dotted print ever produced. Upon the contrary, it seems to be generally admitted, even by those who favor 1474 as the date for the production of this much disputed print, that while the printing from plates engraved in the dotted manner was largely confined to the second half of the fifteenth century, yet that their production as early as 1450 seems reasonably certain, and that they may have been produced long prior even to that early date. Mr. Dodgson, in his interesting and instructive article prepared for the British Museum Catalogue, has probably well summed up the matter, when he says that the evidence *tends to show* that dotted prints were confined practically to the second half of the fifteenth century. He does not, however, submit any new evidence to support this conclusion. He states, it is true, that many of the dotted prints are copied from line engravings, and gives certain instances of such alleged copying; and as the earliest dated line engraving known is the "Flagellation of 1446," formerly belonging to M. Jules Renouvier, and now in the museum at Berlin, one is left to draw the inference that the dotted prints, at least those said to be copied from line engravings were certainly subsequent to that date, and also to the date of the line engravings they reproduce. Mr. Dodgson does not state, however, nor has it been made clear by other authorities, as far as the writer is aware, how it is known that the dotted prints referred to are not the originals, and the line engravings the copies, or, what is more likely to be correct, that they are not both taken from a common original.

In the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, of March, 1869, is a *Notice sur Deux Estampes de 1406 et sur les commencements de la Gravure en crible*, par M. Henri Delaborde, in which that great authority contends, and very plausibly, too, that engraving for the purpose of printing was known and practised before the time of

the famous Flemish "Virgin," a woodcut bearing a date claimed to be 1418; or the German "St. Christopher," the earliest dated woodcut whose authenticity is not seriously doubted, and which bears the date of 1423; and that engraving *en crible* was in all probability the first method practised in Europe. M. Delaborde recites that in 1869 the Conservateur of the Print Department of the Bibliothèque Impériale was offered for purchase a Latin manuscript of the fifteenth century, which, though of no importance as regards its text, contained among its pages two prints in *la manière criblée*. They had evidently been printed on the pages before the text had been written, because the ancient scribe had written around them, and while working upon the back of the page had widely separated his lines, and pressed but lightly upon his pen, lest the ink might show through and injure the prints upon the other side. The discovery of the date of the manuscript, therefore, would seem to give the latest date at which these prints could have been produced. All the skill of the print department, and of the manuscript department, also, was summoned to solve the problem. While the subject of the manuscript was of no determining value, a calendar it contained, after making certain corrections therein and then reading it in accordance with the Golden Number, the number of the Solar Cycle, and the Dominican Letter, seemed to point to the date 1406. This conclusion, however, as soon as published by M. Delaborde, was disputed, and the arguments against his conclusions are so good, that they seem to indicate something wrong. One of the prints in the manuscript is a "Christ bearing the Cross," and the other a "Sudarium"; and Dr. Willshire has pointed out that the "Christ bearing the Cross" in the set of eight pieces of a "Passion" now in the British Museum, which are imprinted on the back with typographic text, is the same as the print M. Delaborde has reproduced in his *Notice* as being in the old Latin manuscript. The "Passion," from its text and other circumstances, can almost certainly be placed as having been printed about 1460. Dr. Willshire, therefore, points out the significance of the fact that the same print in the "Manière Criblée," appears in a manuscript alleged to be of 1406, and in a "Passion" of 1460 associated with printed text from movable metallic type. Other authorities, Mr. Dodgson among them, have attacked with much force M. Delaborde's conclusion. He maintains that the great majority of the known Schrotblätter,

from the internal evidence afforded by the drawing of the human figure, the features, the folds of the drapery, and by the details of custom and ornament, point to the years 1470-1500 as the period of their chief production.

Whatever opinion may be formed as to these matters in dispute, it is certain that from the first time Niello prints appeared in Italy from plates engraved by the Florentine goldsmiths of the fifteenth century, these strange Schrotblätter turned up in various parts of Europe; and, without attempting to settle the actual date of their production, it can be confidently concluded from the nature of the engraved plates themselves and from the character of their workmanship, that they originated, like the Niellos, in the jeweler's or goldsmith's workshop, rather than in the studio of an artist who designed or engraved for the purpose of printing; and that they appeared at that *stage* in the history of the art of printing from engraved surfaces when all was experiment, and when the engraver hesitated between cutting his plates as ornaments to be looked at, or as things of use to be printed from. In the dotted or criblée work there is probably analogy to the heraldic method of indicating gold by associated dots; and if in looking at Schrotblätter, gold is read wherever dots occur, the prints will seldom look amiss. Certain it is that the Schrotblätter, like the Niello prints, can fairly be placed among the earliest forms that engraving ever assumed when employed as a means of reproducing designs.

WHAT COUNTRY ORIGINATED THE DOTTED PRINTS has also been disputed. While a large majority of the known specimens seem to be of Flemish or German origin, yet M. Duplessis and other authorities claim France as the place of their production, and Mr. Dodgson cites a Spanish book in the British Museum, containing certain borders and initial letters in the dotted manner; though, of course, the plates might have been engraved in Germany and taken to Spain for printing. While there may be some doubt about Mr. Dodgson's opinion that the principal home of the dotted print was Cologne, yet it can be concluded with reasonable certainty that it was neither France nor Italy, but most likely the Netherlands or Germany, with the evidence in favor of the latter country.

WHETHER THE SCHROTBLÄTTER WERE PRINTED FROM METAL OR WOODEN BLOCKS has been disputed almost as much as the date and place of their production. The older authorities always

class them as woodprints, and while some modern writers still so regard them, the weight of opinion is vastly in favor of their metallic printing. Mr. W. J. Linton, in his *Masters of Wood-Engraving*, New Haven, 1889, convincingly points out the reasons why they must be regarded as metal rather than wood-prints. An expert wood-engraver of international reputation, he shows that their very method of "killing black" by means of small dots indicates that the block was metal, because had it been wood the blacks could have been easily cut out. Besides, he says that the dots themselves give evidence of having been punched, and if the block were wood, it could hardly sustain the constant hammering without splitting, nor could anyone punch the dots on wood with such unvarying size as the Schrotblätter exhibit.

IN REFERENCE TO THE PROCESS by which the plates were engraved and printed, there has been much confusion. Dr. Willshire was singularly troubled in describing it. He says:—

The prints themselves are as uncommon as they are curious, and though not very easy to obtain, will be sure to attract the notice of the collector by the fac-similes he will meet with, and the remarks of modern writers on ancient prints. . . . They are so distinct in technic and general character, that they could not fairly be ranked under any division of the subject already discussed.

He could not class them as woodcuts, nor engravings from metal in relief or in intaglio, and, therefore, treats them separately. He continues:—

On first view, these prints simply surprise and puzzle the iconophilist. Careful inspection shows them to be a mode of engraving, in which the subject is worked out with a varied combination of dots, lines, and scratches, detaching themselves white from a black ground, assisted by lines and scratches detaching themselves black from a white ground.

The Doctor then proceeds to contend that they were actually intaglio and relief prints *both*.

The longer we look, the more inclined are we to believe, that the ground of the original plate, has remained for the greater part in relief, as it were, and has been inked, and that the white forms, or the dots and lines, have been cut in intaglio, kept free of ink, and so appear white off black in the impression. But in other parts it would seem that the ground has been kept clean or uninked and the cut, or intagliated lines and scratches, have been inked, and appear black off white, as in original copper plate impressions.

The dotted print here reproduced is a beautiful specimen belonging to Ludwig Rosenthal, of Munich. It is about 12 inches long by 9 wide, and has been painted by hand with red, yellow, and green colors. The background is without color, but the grass is green, Mary's dress red, and also that of the Pharisee upon the right. Behind the scene of the crucifixion, mountains are rising, and a city is shown in the distance. The style is archaic, but the story is strongly told. The symbolism of the print is especially interesting. The sun is represented over one arm of the cross and the moon over the other. The soul of the good thief is taken by an angel to heaven, while that of the bad is snatched by a devil for transportation in the opposite direction. The border around the print is similar to that often found upon other Schrotblätter, except that it has been probably cut in half. In the two Schrotblätter, reproduced by Dr. Willshire, Vol. II, 1877 edition, such borders are shown in their entirety.

A critical examination of this print seems to indicate clearly that it is from a plate of metal and not from wood, that it is simply a relief print, like any ordinary woodcut, and that the drawing has been worked out by white lines instead of black.

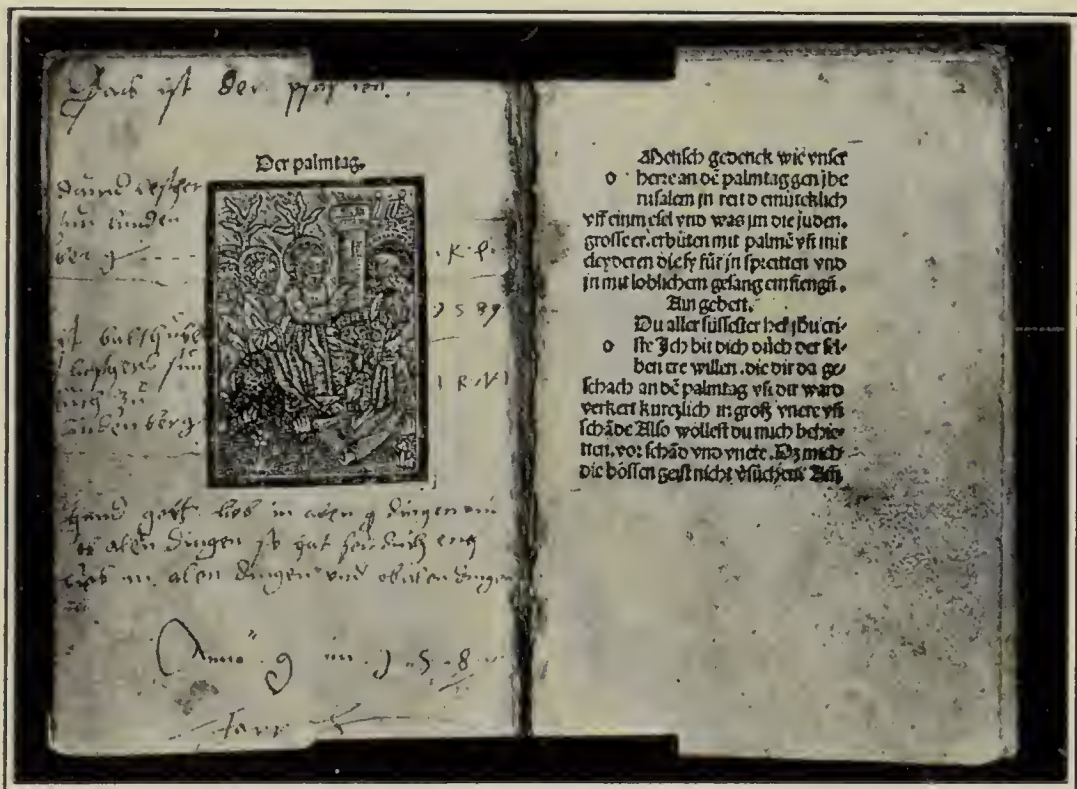
The late Mr. Sylvester R. Koehler, Curator of Graphic Arts, in an article entitled, *White Line Engraving for Relief Printing in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, published in the Report of the National Museum for 1890, pages 385-394, Washington, 1892, states conclusions with reference to the technique of the dotted prints, which this large "Crucifixion" entirely confirms. Mr. Koehler says it may be regarded as proved that the so-called dotted prints are white line engravings intended for relief printing; that they were executed with the graver, and in some cases with punches on metal, which does not exclude the possibility of similar work having "been done on wood with the knife, in the spirit of imitation"; and that, arguing from the means used and the love of ornament displayed in them, their originators were goldsmiths.

This "Crucifixion" is in wonderful preservation. Its back shows clearly that the print was from a block engraved in relief, and completely refutes Dr. Willshire's remarkable conception of the way dotted prints were taken off. From the back of the print, the straight black lines upon the Cross are seen to be *indented* into the paper, and the white spaces between the



Schrotblatt (12 inches by 9) colored by hand.

black lines have *risen* into the hollows of the block. The engraver has worked the plate by a *graver* or *burin*, leaving in relief the parts intended to print. The dots seem to me to have been formed by rotating in the fingers a pointed graver, rather than punching them out or indenting them into the plate with a punch. The impression surrounding the white dots is clean and clear, which it hardly would have been, if the holes had been indented into the plate, or punched through it. From the nature of the technique, I should imagine that the plate was brass, and neither lead nor copper.

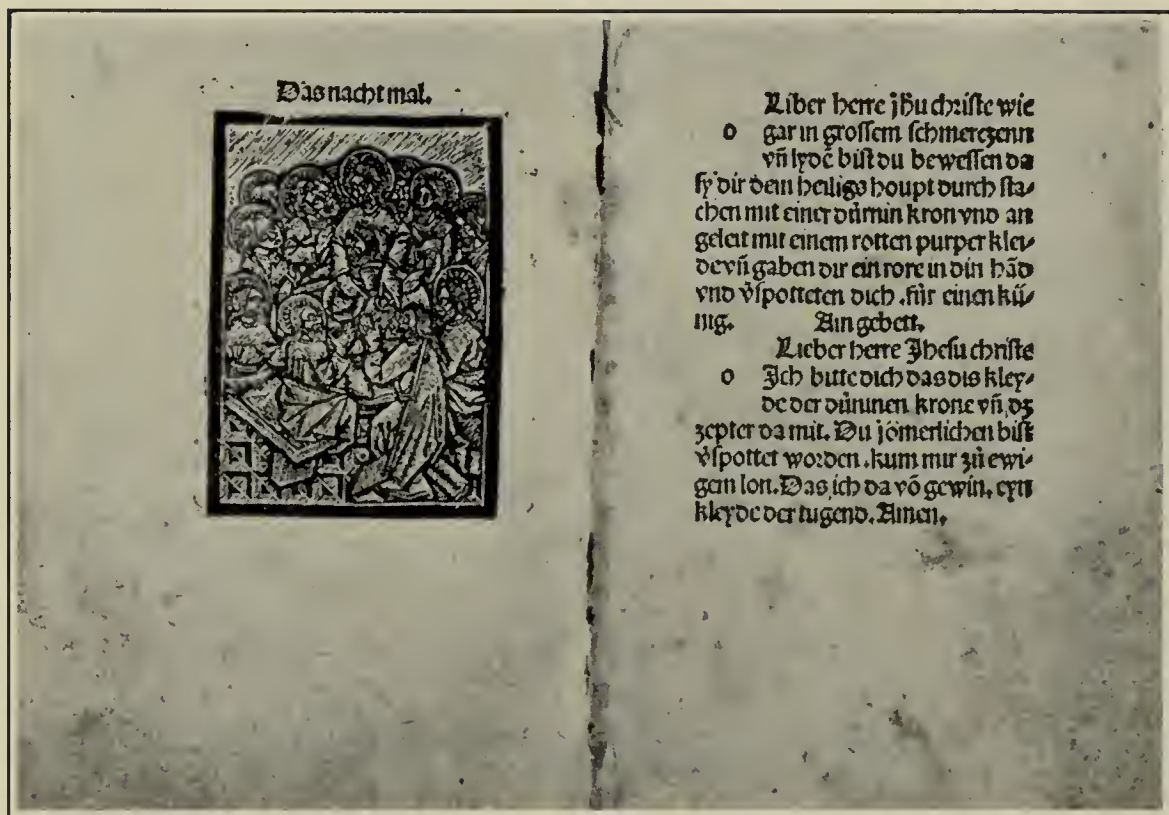


1. The "Little Passion" of Eight Schrotblätter.

The other Schrotblätter here reproduced consist of eight leaves of a little "Passion," the remains, doubtless, of a series of twenty. They are printed on rough paper which shows a watermark of a bull's head with long, straight horns, the nostrils and eyes being formed by turns of the wires which made the paper mark, and having a tall spire, or single white line, rising from between the bull's horns to the margin of the paper. The prints themselves are one and three-quarters inches wide by two and three-eighths inches high. Upon the verso of *Der Palmtag*, the first print, there is no printing, which is significant, and indicates that this print was the first of the series. Nor is there any printing accompany-

ing *Die Kronung*, the last print; that is, the text is wanting because the rest of the series is missing. The various leaves are loosely pasted within a rough paper cover without other binding.

In this first print of the series, representing Christ's entry into Jerusalem, the ground is made up of dotted or *criblée* work. Christ's robe is cross-hatched with *white* lines. The background is heightened with simple parallel white lines which have been drawn upon the metal block by the graver. A crude, though not unsuccessful, attempt has been made to indicate by the texture of the engraving the rough hair of the ass's hide.



2. The "Little Passion" of Eight Schrotblättchen.

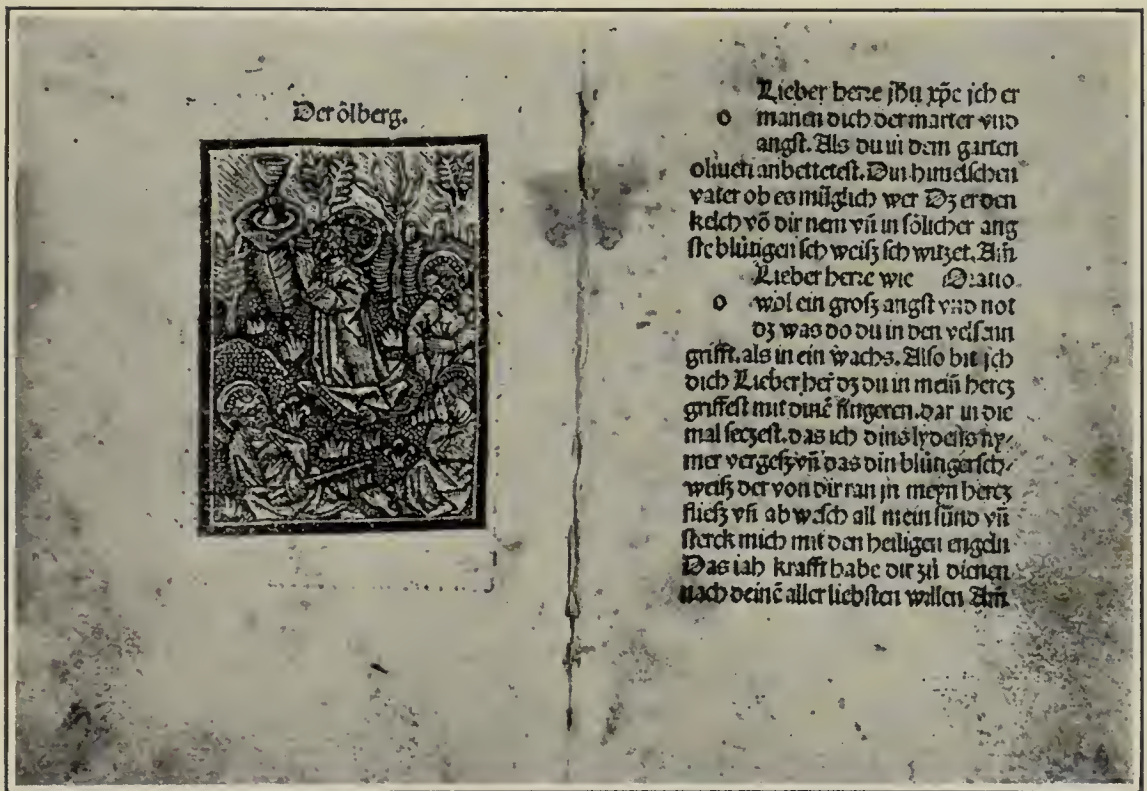
The second print, *Das Nachtmal*, has a background relieved like the former with white lines, and is an example of a Schrotblatt without any dots whatever. The faces of Christ and the disciples are drawn with no little skill, and have considerable expression. The tessellated lower foreground is just the kind of work that a goldsmith would delight in, and is similar to the work encountered in other Schrotblättchen.

This print, like the rest of the series, has within a black border a white one, which was, doubtless, first cut out by the graver before the rest of the plate was engraved. The white border around the nimbi of Christ and the disciples was probably next

engraved, so the graver could work with greater freedom in cutting the lines.

The third print, *Der Oelberg*, is rich in criblée work. It also has the white border within the black, and has a black border surrounding the various objects in the upper background, and from this black border the incisions of the graver seem to have started. The title is crooked, but, notwithstanding this fact, seems to have been printed at the same impression which struck off the picture.

The next cut, *Die Gefencknus*, representing Christ's betrayal



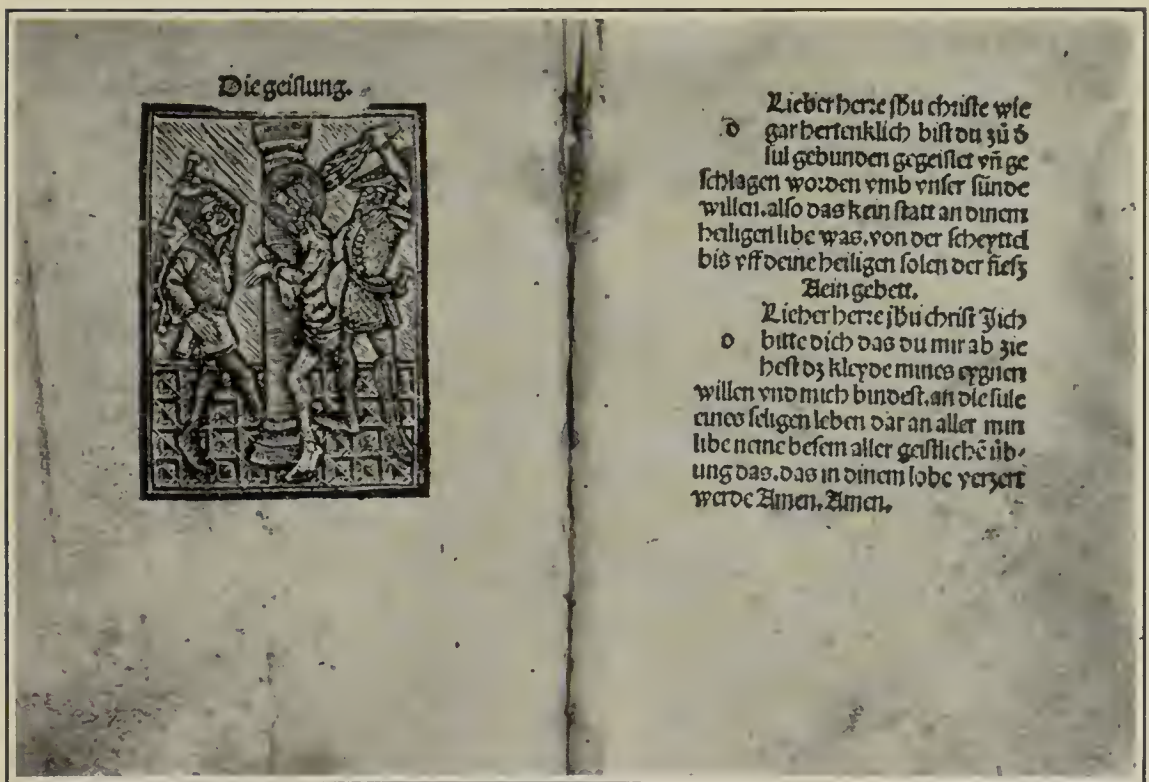
3. The "Little Passion" of Eight Schrotblätter.

and arrest, is of great interest. The ground is criblée, as before. White lines, cross-hatching, indicate the waving of the robes. There is again a white border within a black one, and black borders form outlines from which the engraving seems to have proceeded. It is especially to be noted that Malchus holds in his *left* hand the sword with which he has cut off the high priest's ear, indicating, apparently, that the original plate was engraved to be looked at, not printed from, unless we conceive it possible that the engraver failed to appreciate the fact that his print would be in reverse from his own work upon the metal.

There are many criblée prints thus reversed. Some, in fact,

seen in proper position. This contention is supported by the occurrence of some *criblée* prints with a small, white hole at their four corners through which they might have been tacked to a wooden background. Mr. Dodgson has advanced the idea that these holes were used to affix the plate to a wooden block when used for printing; but he gives no evidence to support his suggestion, and it would seem to credit the fifteenth century printer with the knowledge of an invention of comparatively recent date.

In the next cut (No. 5) there is a mixture of left and right-handedness. One of Christ's accusers has raised his left hand in pro-

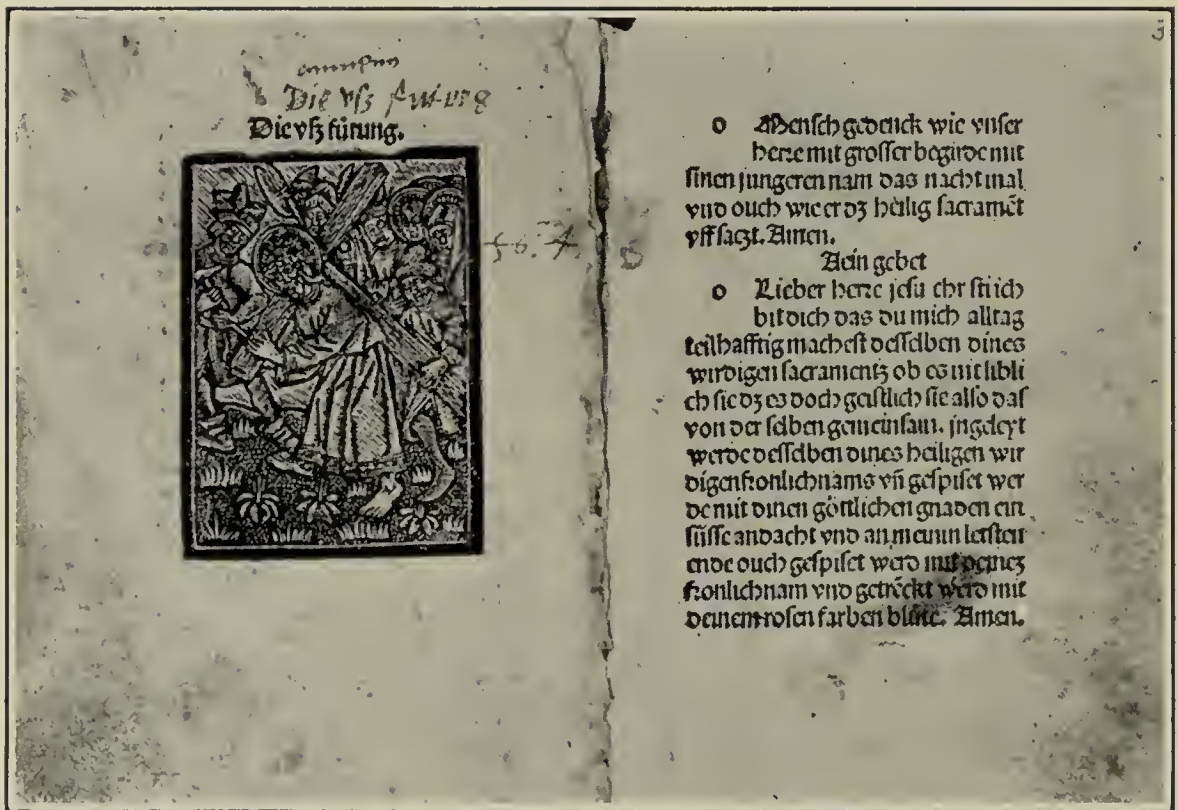


6. The "Little Passion" of Eight Schrotblätter.

testation, while Pilate seems to have his right hand raised in natural gesture. This print is also free from dots. It should be noted that it has been printed at the same time with the title. The movable type constituting the title seems to have been taller than the metal of the block, so that when impressed by the paper, which probably had a soft overlay, the top border of the print failed to be brought in contact with the paper, leaving a white smudge under the title.

In this cut, *Die Geislung*, the white smudge is more plainly

seen under the title at the upper border. The paper has been held away from the top of the cut by the superior length of the type forming the title. Excepting the buttons on the figure to the right, and the hair or cap of the figure to the left, there is no *criblée* work in this print. The floor is beautifully tessellated. Both of the figures are scourging Christ with implements held in the *left* hand, which may again indicate that the little plate from which the print was taken was intended to be looked at; or engraved at so early a stage in the history of the art of engraving for the purpose of printing that the engraver failed



7. The "Little Passion" of Eight Schrotblätter.

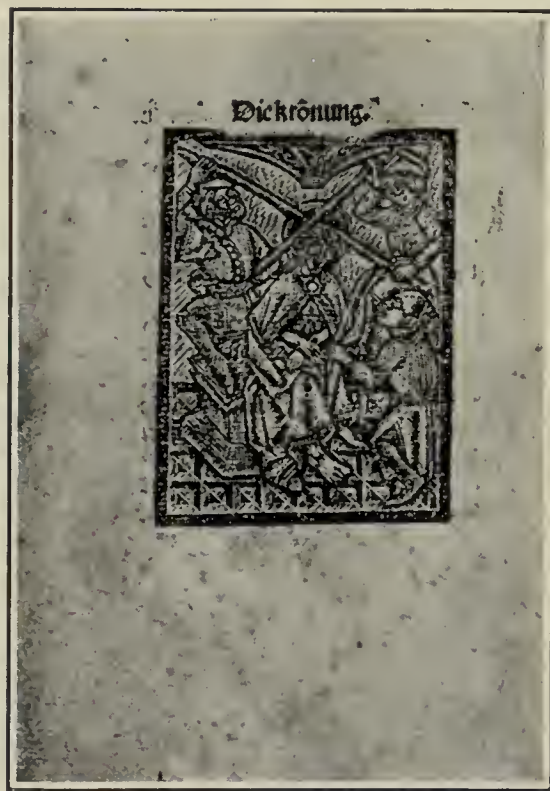
to realize that the prints from his plate would be reversed. The border of this cut is different from the others. In addition to the black outer border, there is a white line, and then a black inner border and another white line.

The seventh cut, representing Christ bearing the cross, makes liberal use of *criblée* in the lower ground, and seems to be the best work of the series. The wood of the cross is represented with no little skill. The face of Christ is drawn with great care. The mantles are composed of crossed *white* lines. The type of the title has again pushed away the paper from the upper border.

The last cut, to which, as has been said, there is no accompanying text, is again free from any *criblée* work. The title has printed clearly, while the upper border of the cut, and, in fact, the whole block, has failed of perfect contact with the paper.

This little series is of considerable rarity, not only because its *Schrotblätter* are in beautiful condition, but also because dotted prints *are very seldom met with in connection with typographic text. But few such examples are known.*

Mr. Dodgson has suggested as a reason why *criblée* prints are so seldom found as illustrations in books, that it was difficult



8. The "Little Passion" of Eight *Schrotblätter*.

to print from metal plates in connection with type. But this reason does not seem to be satisfactory; first, because no such difficulty exists in reality; and secondly, because, as a matter of fact, many of the printed illustrations which do appear in fifteenth century books are unmistakably from metal, as modern criticism has shown, and not from wood. Better reasons for this rarity can probably be found in the cessation of the production of *Schrotblätter*, as printing from type was developed; in the fact that their method of "killing black," by means of large white dots, was awkward and monotonous, and could not compete with

that of the woodcut, which killed black by cutting it away and printing only what was left in relief; and lastly, because the production of Schrotblätter was, doubtless, confined within narrow geographical limits.

Mr. Campbell Dodgson has kindly written to me that in 1903 he endeavored, with the aid of a great expert on early printing, Robert Proctor, since deceased, to ascertain from what press the book of which these leaves are a fragment was issued, but that the result was not definite. Mr. Proctor said either Basel or Nuremberg, probably the latter; and that in that case Anton Koberger would be the printer. Mr. Dodgson believes that Basel seems to be a very improbable place of origin, as the dialect of the text accompanying the little criblée cuts is normal South German, not that of the Upper Rhine. He says:—

“The ‘ain’ for ‘ein’ is almost universal at Augsburg, but I suspect it could be matched at Nuremberg, also; I do not remember to have noticed the form ‘aein’ elsewhere. The date would probably be 1490-1500. The subject headed, ‘Die Gefencnus’ is reproduced in Ludwig Rosenthal’s Catalogue No. 90, Munich, 1892.”

Mr. Rush C. Hawkins, the author, *inter alia*, of *First Books and Printers of the Fifteenth Century*, New York and London, 1884, has suggested that, from the character of the type associated with these cuts, there can be no reasonable doubt but that the interesting little series came from the press of Michael Furter, of Basel. If it did, it was probably printed about 1490. Mr. Hawkins believes the cuts to have been elsewhere engraved, probably in Burgundia-Franche Comté, as early, at least, as 1452, and thence found their way to Basel. While agreeing with him as to the date the cuts were engraved, I am inclined to doubt his conclusion as to the place of their origin, and would rather imagine that it was Germany, with the chance in favor of Bavaria, and that as the development in the art of printing created a demand for illustrations for printed text, the little plates were brought to light, and put to a use in a printer’s shop for which their engraver may not have originally purposed them.

While we may never be able to solve the interesting problems Schrotblätter afford, their study will continue to present an engaging picture of the times which gave them birth, and of the mental development of those for whom they were intended.

